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JAMES LLOYD BRECK IN CALIFORNIA
A MISSIONARY EXPERIMENT

CHAPTER

INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY

II. BIBLIOGRAPHY

III. METHODS An historical thesis

IV. SUBJECT TO BE PRESENTED

V. CALIFORNIA the faculty of the

VI. CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC

VII. WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL

VIII. SUPERIOR PLACE FOR STUDY

IX. LAST DAYS

X. CONCLUSION

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

by

Robert MacLellan Key

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

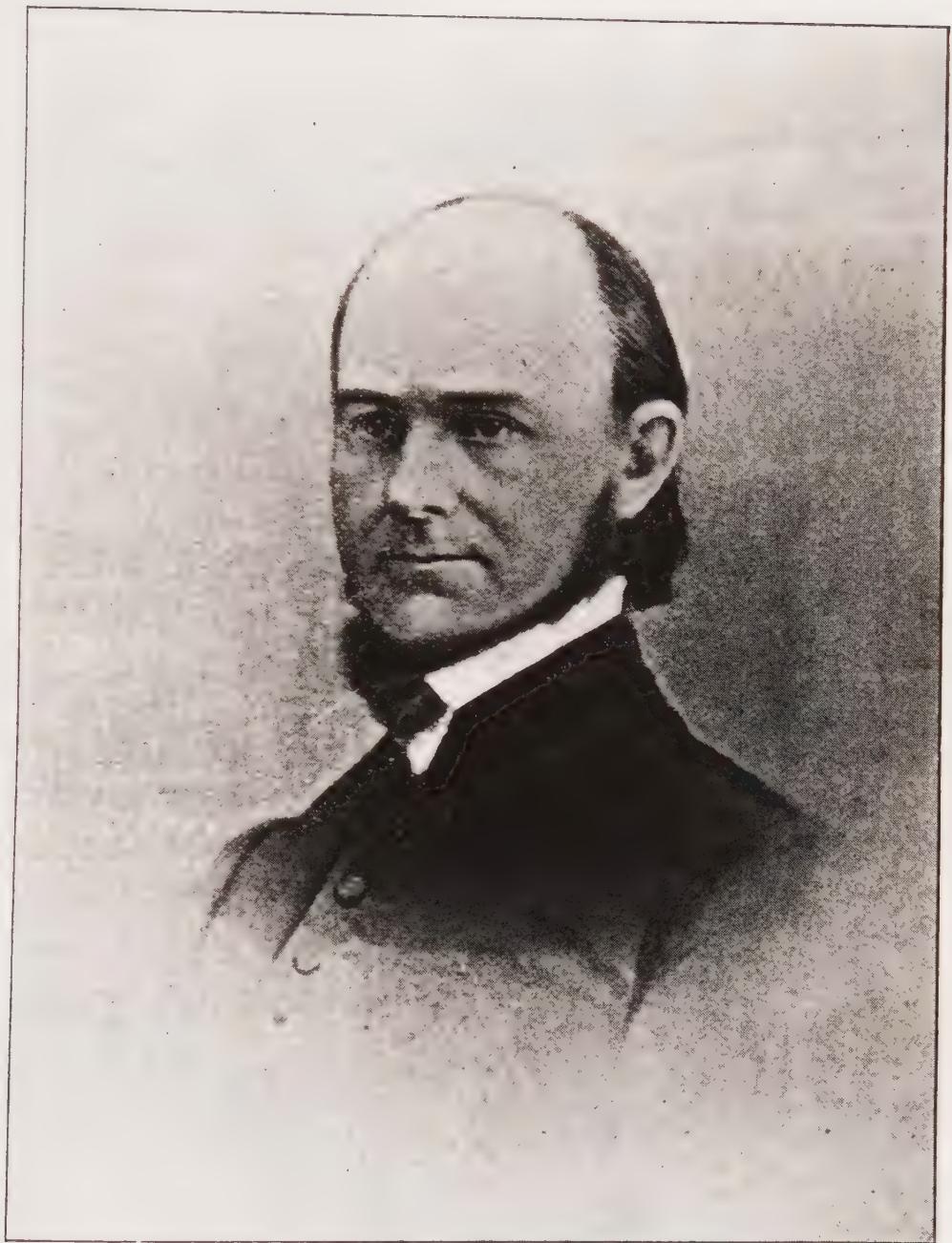
CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
I. BRECK'S EDUCATION AND EARLY LIFE	4
II. NASHOTAH	9
III. MINNESOTA	19
IV. JOURNEY TO CALIFORNIA	29
V. CALIFORNIA	37
VI. CHOICE OF LOCATION AND BEGINNING	43
VII. GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF THE MISSIONARY SCHOOLS AND WORK .	47
VIII. HOPES AND PLANS FOR GROWTH	54
IX. LAST DAYS	63
X. CONCLUSIONS	71
BIBLIOGRAPHY	77
APPENDIX A. THE NASHOTAH OFFICE OF DEVOTION	80
APPENDIX B. ENMEGAHBOWH	91

175-22.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece James Lloyd Breck (Source - Wilkinson)

Before Page 43 . . . St. Augustine's College . . (Source - Gregory)



REV. JAMES L. BRECK, D. D.

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of this historical investigation will be to recall the adventure in California of the Reverend Doctor James Lloyd Breck and the Associate Mission which he brought from the East, and to relate it as far as possible with the subsequent history of the church in the state and in the two dioceses which are involved.

The interest of the author in this problem was first aroused when, as a student of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, he had charge of the work at St. Paul's Church, Benicia. Both there, and in the near-by town of Suisun, James Lloyd Breck and his work are remembered with a spirit nearly approaching awe. This interest was recently revived and revivified in the course of preparation for lectures on the history of the Church in California by the very real lack of written evidence concerning Breck's work.

Certain obvious facts are to be recognized at the beginning. The Associate Mission under Breck's leadership did not make the definite impression here which was made by the Nashotah and Seabury efforts. No one could say that the work was fruitless; but nothing survives comparable to Nashotah House and the Seabury Schools which stand today as monuments to the indefatigable missionary zeal of their founder.

It is a difficult subject because the data are few and scattered. References in books of history and biography are sketchy and sometimes entirely lacking. The paucity of material is illustrated by the fact that in all of the books of history of the Episcopal Church in the Los Angeles Public Library there was only one brief reference to this venture to be found in the Philosophy and Religion department and some historical reference to the later condition of the schools which Breck founded in the California history section. The Monumental History of the American Episcopal Church, by Bishop Perry of Iowa, seems to have no reference whatever to the mission. D. O. Kelley, in his History of the Diocese of California, makes this statement regarding the difficulty of the consideration of the California Associate Mission: "The absence of detailed and reliable data is largely responsible for the difficulty presented".¹

Dr. Breck was a man of great missionary enthusiasm. His journey to California was made with little if any consultation with the leaders of the Church already at work in the field, so that there was no opportunity for preparation at that end. The Mission was cordially received, and aided by the California Church, but those solid foundations which might have been laid were entirely lacking.

1 D. O. Kelley, History of the Diocese of California, (San Francisco: Bureau of Information & Supply, 1915) p. 55.

The disappearance of the work itself has left little in the way of tradition to which to appeal. A few of Dr. Breck's books in the sacristies of the two missions, and the memories of people who heard from their parents of the work, is all that can be found in this field.

Such material as is available, however, may be pieced together to separate the work of Dr. Breck in California and to study it with reference to California history and to the two great missionary adventures which preceded it. An effort will be made to arrive at conclusions as to the reasons for the success of the first and second ventures as compared with the final disappearance of all that started with such fine fervor on the upper reaches of San Francisco Bay.

CHAPTER I

BRECK'S EDUCATION AND EARLY LIFE

Born a member of a devoted and loyal church family in the County of Philadelphia June 27, 1818, James Lloyd Breck was one of fourteen children, twelve of whom grew to maturity. Little is known of the very early life of this great missionary of the Church save that he was taught sound habits of industry and learning, attending the local schools and filling his life with outdoor work which served in later years to give the strong constitution necessary for the life he was to lead.²

When Lloyd was thirteen an uncle, the Hon. James Lloyd Breck of Boston, died and from a very considerable estate, left to his namesake one thousand dollars which the family decided should be used for his education. In those days the name of the Reverend Doctor Muhlenberg was one to conjure with; and the fact that the boy continued his education in that clergyman's "institution" in Flushing, Long Island had a profound effect on his later life. The school was well known and was very popular with Church families of the day. In his introductory section to the Life and Letters of his younger brother, Dr. Charles Breck points out this fact:

² Charles Breck, The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D. D. Chiefly from Letters Written by Himself. (New York: E. and J. B. Young and Co., 1883), p. 1.

This was a most marked turning-point in his life,- a thorough and radical change in his pursuits and associations. His teachers were gentlemen distinguished for their scholarship; and the principal, a man eminent for his erudition, and his loveliness of character. . . . While at Flushing he was confirmed, and at the age of sixteen consecrated himself to the sacred ministry; and, what is remarkable, in view of subsequent influences brought to bear upon him, he almost vowed himself to a life of celibacy. 3

The thousand dollar bequest could not last forever, but it was supplemented by an aunt, Mrs. Lloyd, who financed the rest of the time at Flushing and two years at the University of Pennsylvania, the Junior class of which he entered in 1836 graduating in 1838. In writing his thanks for the aid which Mrs. Lloyd had given he tells her of pride in his diploma and of the fact that he cannot do more to repay her than to live up to her expectations. His announced choice of profession written in this letter bears out the earlier indication of interest in the Church:

My profession has long been chosen in my own mind, - long ere I disclosed it to anyone. I think the Ministry was the very first occupation for life that came into my mind, and none other, I can truly say, has since come in to be compared with it; indeed, the thought of serving in the temple of the Lord has afforded me the greatest joy I have ever experienced. 4

During this same year he entered the General Theological Seminary from which his brother Charles had previously been graduated. From the very beginning of his course he evinced an interest in the missionary field of Northern Pennsylvania where Charles was working.

3 ibid. P. 2

4 ibid. P. 4

During the summer of the year 1840 he planned to make a visit to Tioga County to determine whether that ought not to be his field of work.

The visits of missionary bishops had a great influence on the young men in the Seminary. The most influential in the life of Lloyd was that of Bishop Kemper who called for men who would be willing to forego comforts, even to forego marriage for years in order to be of value in the missionary work of the Western Church.⁵ The depth of influence of this and other visits of the Bishop is clearly indicated in a letter to Charles that same summer. Plans were already on foot - great plans of seminarians:

But what think you dear brother? The following is mooted in our class - and be not surprised if time should strengthen it - that six or eight of us clan together, going out West, place ourselves under Bishop Kemper, all at one point, and there educate and preach; to live under one roof, constituted into a Religious House, under a Superior. Thus, and thus only, it is believed, can the Romanist be made to feel sensibly the power of the Church Catholic. ⁶

Here was the beginning of the Associate Mission Idea which was to carry James Lloyd Breck through the wildernesses of two "Western" States, and was finally to send him to the very western limit of the continent.

Bishop Whittingham, who had been the most sympathetic of the seminary professors before his consecration, still took a continuing

5 ibid. p. 8

6 ibid. p. 8

interest in the plans for an Associate Mission, but all was not easy. Breck's Bishop, the Rt. Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, was not particularly willing to release him for Western work; and some of the other proposed members of the mission could not obtain permission and release from their bishops probably due, partially, to the fact that Bishop Otey came East and spoke against it. There was a tentative plan that the members should work in Dr. Muhlenberg's School for a time as further preparation for the educational element in the Associate Mission program.⁷ This seemed a waste of time to young enthusiasm. Missionary evangelism with a "Catholic" flavor was their chief interest, with the urgency of immediate work in the field pressing them Westward.

Of the eight young men who had originally evinced interest in the Associate Mission idea, four remained closely associated in their religious life as is evidenced by a letter to Charles: "We four have a private liturgy, which we use together every Friday afternoon. It has the sanction of Bishop Whittingham."^{8*} Charles Breck lists them: "The four who thus gave themselves were Adams, Breck, Miles, and Hobart."⁹ When it was finally time to make actual preparation for the westward journey only three were left. Miles had been ordered home for ordination by his Bishop. The spirits of the group were

7 ibid. p.9 ff.

8 ibid. p. 14

9 ibid. p. 13

* See Appendix A

raised from the depths into which succeeding obstacles had cast them, by a letter from the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, an experienced western missionary, who had signified to Bishop Kemper his willingness to act as head of the association. Lloyd was overjoyed: "We have a superior at last, - just the man we have so much wanted."¹⁰ Mr. Cadle came East on a visit, meeting with the three young Deacons at various times during that summer.

James Lloyd Breck was deeply impressed by his ordination to the Diaconate, which took place on July 11, 1841. Writing to Charles the following day he said:

How much I longed for your presence, dear brother! I cannot express to you the feelings that impressed my mind after the reception of Orders. No longer a layman: - a Minister of Christ, - a Deacon, - an office that can never be laid aside, - forever a servant of the Most High! I have for years longed after Orders; yet when admitted thereto, it almost made me shudder to think I was now and forever to be one who was to stand between the people and the Altar. ¹¹

In the same letter was the news that word had come from Hobart informing them that Bishop Kemper required their attendance at a convocation of the Clergy to be held in Milwaukee August eighth. Breck's commitment to the enterprise was now complete. He and his two companions, Adams and the Reverend Mr. Cadle, began their trip West on the first of September 1841.

10 ibid. p. 15

11 ibid. p. 17

CHAPTER II

NASHOTAH

The field of labor of the Associate Mission was first surveyed by Hobart who visited Prairieville, the present Waukesha, about fifteen miles west of Milwaukee with Bishop Kemper. A round was also made of the villages which were to be in their "circuit": Mukwonago, Sugar Creek, Elkhorn, Genoa, Burlington, Rochester, Rock Prairie, Janesville, Beloit, and Aztalan. On the eleventh of September the rest of the Mission arrived at Milwaukee.¹² They went to Prairieville together, but found housing difficult. Lloyd wrote to his sister-in-law that when Hobart came in from Prairieville:

He mentioned to us that there were no lodgings, public or private, for us yet in Prairieville, that there were not so much as for himself only, and that there would not be until next week and then only temporarily. The reason of this was, that the people only built for the accommodation of their respective families; that houses were in great demand, and that the public-house was filled every night, insomuch that floors were regularly strewed with mattresses to accommodate travelers. ¹³

After living in various rooms for a short time they obtained a single large room in which they were to live and study; their books and equipment arrived and they settled down to regular missionary endeavor.

The Rev. Mr. Cadle, although he had accepted the bishop's offer to act as leader to the group, never seemed to fit into the life they

¹² Donald H. V. Hallock, "The Story of Nashotah", Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 11:5 March, 1942.

¹³ C. Breck, op. cit. p. 22

planned and executed. When they first moved to their quarters at Prairieville there was not room for him, and he remained in Racine; his sympathy with the Mission never seemed enough to make him join it; and his influence was never felt. Hallock points this out in his article:

While they always spoke of him as 'Father' Cadle or 'Prior' Cadle, he apparently had little sympathy for their plans for a religious house nor any personal aptitude for the communal life. The three had voted that there should be 'community of goods with community of purpose', but Cadle would not agree to pool his missionary stipend with theirs. He would pay his own share of the expenses, but anything that remained must be his to dispose of as he wished. He wrote the bishop further, 'The imposition of celibacy I candidly confess I do not like, not being in the slightest degree oxfordized'. 14

As a consequence of this failure, not due to the man, for he had been and was a valuable missionary in the field, but due to lack of sympathy with a type of idea, the three young Deacons had to rely upon occasional visits of the Bishop for direction and guidance in the comparatively vast undertaking in which they were engaged.

A report of their activities drawn up by Hobart in December 1841 shows that in the previous quarter they had held

. . . 101 services in 17 different places, covering a territory about forty miles in length and fifty miles in breadth. They had traveled 1,851 miles horseback and 736 miles afoot. In addition to the regular services they had had 19 baptisms and two marriages. About 150 church members had been located. 15

14 Hallock, 4 op. cit. p. 4

15 ibid. p. 6

In February the Bishop visited his Associate Mission. He reported in a letter to his daughter:

'With Mr. Breck I am much delighted - he appears so calm, steady, and devoted to the great objects of his missions. Mr. Adams is learned, eccentric, & persevering. The night of my arrival we held a council which resulted in some important measures. They are greatly encouraged at their stations. They now ride 30 miles to places to which they used to walk; but they cannot help considering there is a great waste of time during these journeys. They therefore wish to circumscribe their visits to about twelve miles from their home & to begin at once to pay attention to the important subject of education. . . .' 16

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to Breck's founding Nashotah House. Dean Hodges says:

James Lloyd Breck, priest and pioneer, started schools in Minnesota at Faribault, and leaving enduring foundations on which other men should build, pushed on and on, across the plains, across the mountains, till he built a school on the coast of the Pacific, at Benicia. 17

He makes no mention of Breck's connection with Nashotah. Hallock implies that the school and seminary idea was a gradual growth in the minds of the young men, inspired and fostered by Bishop Kemper.¹⁸

In the same letter quoted above, the Bishop credits the real interest in the school idea to Adams.¹⁹ In the Catalogue of Nashotah House, presumed to be authoritative the following statement is made:

Though three young men set out together, it is to James Lloyd Breck and to William Adams that the credit belongs of actually

16 ibid. p. 6

17 George Hodges, Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America, (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Co., 1906) p. 128.

18 Hallock, op. cit. p. 3

19 ibid. p. 6

founding the work. From the first the idea of a training school for the priesthood was an essential part of the associate mission, and while Nashotah House to this day is called for miles around 'The Mission', it has been known throughout the Church for one hundred years as a seminary of theological training, though the original idea of a Religious Order for men had to be abandoned. During Dr. Breck's Presidency it was incorporated under the laws of Wisconsin as Nashotah House. 20

In a letter from Dr. Cole to the Spirit of Missions for April, 1876, Breck is said to have:

. . . designed to have three great institutions side by side upon the Lands of Nashotah. . . . He had commenced an academy in a building still standing not far to the south of the Chapel Site. There he had in working order a Theological Seminary. Upon a site north of the Chapel, more beautiful than that, he proposed to have a college. 21

Interestingly enough, although his name is the one linked in most minds with the Idea and with the foundation, Breck was not even consulted when the actual purchase of ground for the permanent location of the Mission was made. The Rev. Lemuel B. Hull of Milwaukee, who had been present at the introduction of the missionaries to their field, was the Bishop's Agent and acted alone in the purchase of the 464 acres on Upper and Lower Nashotah Lakes. Hallock continues concerning this purchase: "Nevertheless, Breck was thoroughly pleased and the choice for all generations to come was certainly a happy one, as all who have ever visited Nashotah will attest."²²

20 Catalogue of Nashotah House, Centennial Number 1942-43. p.4

21 Cole, Dr. [Azel Dow] "Letter, (Nashotah; Its Past, Present and Future)." The Spirit of Missions, 41:190, April, 1876.

22 Hallock, op. cit. p. 7

During that fall a two story frame dwelling, the present "Blue House", was built. At last the Mission had its own headquarters. Hobart had not been so successful on a money-raising trip to the East as had been hoped due to rumor that the Associate Mission was too Roman. While he was in the East he had also become engaged, a great blow to Breck who constantly envisaged a semi-monastic institution, and who had been disappointed in the Superior picked by the Bishop. Both of the men who had remained with the Mission felt the lack of opportunity to partake of the Holy Communion, a fact which Breck communicated in a letter to the Bishop: "'We have had no head, and only been allowed the privilege of participation in the Holy Eucharist at your hands, brother Adams once and myself twice.'"²³ This problem was overcome by the ordination of the two to the Priesthood in the Indian Chapel at Oneida. Breck had wished to stay in Deacon's orders until he was thirty, but Adams refused to take the responsibility of leadership. With the encouragement of Bishop Kemper the young men returned to the field of their labors, and went on with the work of beginning educational institutions. The Bishop wished them to take two or three of the more promising Indian boys from Oneida as theological students, but they were not too sanguine about the possible results. They did take two finally; however, the school was never made a center for the education of the Indians as a race.²⁴

23 ibid. p. 7

24 ibid. p. 9

Gradually the entire responsibility of the mission, for good or bad, was shifted to Breck's shoulders. Adams resigned in the spring of 1843 and returned to the East.²⁵ Lloyd told of the burdens which had fallen upon him in a letter to Charles written in February, 1844. The Bishop had been with him, in and about Nashotah for several weeks, but the burden of vested ownership and of the necessity for raising funds to continue the work fell entirely on Lloyd. He seemed to be rather bitter about the fact that the support of the work was left to the women of the Church: "The Clergy appear to stand aloof, and say, 'If the Mission succeeds we will then exert ourselves to sustain it; but we cannot throw away funds that may be lost in an unreal thing.'"²⁶

During the visits of the Bishop that winter a nearby Swedish settlement had appealed for his services, asking that he come and dedicate their burial ground; also that Gustaf Unionius be educated at Nashotah to be their Pastor.²⁷ From this group other students came to be educated at the school.

This year might be considered to be the peak of Breck's success in his first undertaking. By fall of the year 1844, there were thirty students in residence, of whom eighteen were lay brothers

25 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 28

26 ibid. p. 44

27 ibid. p. 43

having decided to prepare themselves for the ministry. The program of services and activities was a strenuous one, which is recorded for us in a letter of the Bishop to his friend the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson:

'We meet 4 & sometimes 5 times in a day for worship. Let me see: The first bell rings at 5 - at 6 we go to the chapel - then breakfast - then the students recite & study for 2 hours - at 9 chapel - from 10 to 12 the students work, & from 2 to 4. At 6 and 9 we are again at chapel. Dinner at $12\frac{1}{2}$ - supper $6\frac{1}{2}$. The Eucharist is administered every Thursday at 9.'²⁸

Soon after this, as the result of a petition by a group of the students, a daily celebration of the Holy Communion was instituted, which increased the number of services to six a day. The periods of work indicated by the Bishop in his sketch were a part of Breck's scheme to make the school nearly self-supporting. The students farmed a part of the land, kept poultry, and did all of their own housework. Especially coveted was the turn at laundry, which bore with it the extra privilege of coffee at the noon meal on Monday (wash day).²⁹ Among the dreams which seem to have sustained this young man in his efforts to make education and missionary activity possible on the frontiers of our country was one that a boarding school or academy could be made to pay for the maintenance of a Mission and of a Theological Seminary. This idea persisted in his mind until his death; and might possibly have been made true had it ever been given a thorough trial.³⁰

28 Hallock, op. cit. p. 9

29 ibid. p. 12

30 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 44

Not only was the year 1844 the best of the years of Nashotah under Breck's leadership, it also marked the beginning of loss of confidence in him.³¹ It has already been noted that he was given the whole responsibility of managing the mission, that the property was vested in him, and that he had the task of raising funds by mail for its continuance. Too much perhaps was placed on the shoulders of one who was still young and who was much more interested in the conduct of the work than in the details of finance. He felt deeply the lack of companions in his ministry who were as completely imbued with the Associate Mission Idea as was he. He had not faltered, but those who had dreamed the great dreams in seminary days had fallen one by one from his side until with the marriage of Adams to Bishop Kemper's daughter he was left alone in his purpose.³² The very plans which he had thought of as the salvation of his idea added too much to his burdens. The parochial school students found him too severe a disciplinarian. He was not always able to get along with people, a fact which may account for his several removals from successfully started fields of work, ". . . and which must often have made him feel that in the tremendous foundations he laid he himself was a failure."³³

In addition to the apparent dissatisfaction regarding the conduct of the finances of the mission, there was also in the year 1844,

31 Hallock, op. cit. p. 11

32 ibid. p. 10

33 Hallock, op. cit. p. 11

a considerable amount of criticism of the supposedly Roman flavor of the services and of the discipline. It was fostered in the minds of Easterners by the fact that there were in this period some clergy who were carried away to the Roman fold. Although there was no truth in it, Breck himself said repeatedly that he wanted no discipline but the vows of his ordination, yet in this criticism he lost some of the confidence of his Bishop and of Bishop Whittingham, who had so staunchly supported the idea of the mission from its very beginning. In the school year 1848-49 there was a recurrence of the same type of criticism which Charles Breck describes as follows:

In the latter part of 1848 and the earlier portion of 1849, the Rev. Gardner Jones caused no little excitement and scandal. He came to the institution in October, 1848, recommended by a literary clergyman of distinction . . . as a professor of languages, and was appointed as Professor of Hebrew. . . . His conduct provoked more or less suspicion . . . until it was discovered that he was an ordained priest of the Church of Rome. 34

It is also recorded that he was an ordained minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, which would probably indicate an unbalance of mind, but to the times he was undoubtedly a dangerous Roman Catholic spy!

The School continued with a measure of success. In 1847 a board of visitors appointed by the Bishop concluded its report with this striking statement:

Nashotah bids fair to become a Propaganda for our Holy faith. Among its present members are, one Englishman, three Oneida Indians, one Irishman, two Swedes, one Dane, one Norwegian,

a converted Jew, and twelve Americans; each of whom purposes, when admitted to Holy Orders, to labor among his own people.³⁵

Also helpful was the return of Adams, who came only as a teacher, not to resume any of the responsibility for the leadership of the mission which the original plan had divided among the three. The first ordination of a Nashotah House student was that of Unonius, who came to the school as an educated man, and went out to minister to his own people.

In this period began the long interest and support of the Seabury Society of Trinity Parish, New Haven. Many of the letters in Charles Breck's book are from or to Miss S. M. Edwards who, for years, was secretary of that society. The first of a long succession of gifts from this source was seventy-five dollars sent in January, 1846.³⁶ Despite this type of interest by individuals and groups in the East the problems of daily sustenance were at times acute. The record shows that there were frequently days on which there was little or nothing in the larder. Many of these more intimate facts of Nashotah House life are recorded in the diaries of the Rev. George P. Schetky, who was one of the early students of the House and afterwards a member of the administration.³⁷

35 ibid. p. 67

36 ibid. p. 52

37 ibid. p. 47 ff.

CHAPTER III

MINNESOTA

Although that was apparently not his intention, James Lloyd Breck resigned as head of the Nashotah House Mission while he was on his first Eastern trip in 1850. In the record of correspondence with his Bishop there is a strain of increasing dissatisfaction over a period of years, not with the mission, but with his own inability to make the system work.³⁸ Such things as students who paid enough not to be included in the work schedule, lay brothers who removed themselves in the middle of the year, and married clergy living on the grounds made him think that he would not be able to carry on the Associate Mission Idea on that ground. He had gone East to raise money for the school and to find some men to return with him to carry on the work, but wrote to the Bishop:

I left Nashotah in the honest purpose of heart to secure co-laborers for the same. But I find it will be impracticable to procure men for Nashotah as a divided House; - I mean a House that has a married and an unmarried atmosphere about it at the same time. ³⁹

In the same letter he stated again the fact that he had asked to have Adams made the head, that he had not wished the responsibility of such leadership when so young a man, and that he had soon been left entirely alone in it (for Adams after his time in the East returned

38 ibid. p. 99 ff.

39 ibid. p. 108

only in a teaching capacity); further he says:

Now, my dearest Bishop, I do not wish to run away from Nashotah, much less involve Nashotah in any difficulty that may injure her prospects of usefulness for the Church. But I think all must be persuaded by this time, if they have not been heretofore, that I am not the person to carry forward this work to its completion; and that the longer my continuance at Nashotah should be, the deeper and more inextricable will the difficulties also become. I do not refer to pecuniary considerations, but to the unnaturalness of the system, breathing two atmospheres at the same time. 40

According to this same letter he left the House with all of its original land free from debt and with usable buildings, beds, bedding, clothing, scholarships, etc., which he carefully lists. He felt that it could go on to be a useful Church College like any other but that his dream had not yet been fulfilled.

To fulfill it he organized the second of his Associate Missions. The Minnesota Mission is deserving of far more attention than the compass of this paper makes possible. A sketch is necessary to indicate the development of the Idea and of the System as they were later applied in the California field.

Having gained the permission of Bishop Kemper to resign the headship of Nashotah House and to found another Associate Mission in Minnesota, (which territory was also under the Bishop); Breck completed the business of raising money to relieve financial difficulties at his first mission, at the same time making plans for the

inception of the new. The Associate Mission for the Minnesota field was organized on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 1850.⁴¹ Its personnel were the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxon, of Connecticut, the Rev. John Austin Merrick, of Pennsylvania, and Theodore I. Holcombe, a young man who was intended to be the first theological student in the school yet to be founded.^{42 - 43}

In his chapter on the early work of the Church in Minnesota, Wilkinson gives the following description of James Lloyd Breck as he left the triumph of attention which had followed him on his Eastern journey and turned again to the West to carry on the missionary work of the Church:

A tall man was he; straight as an arrow; his bearing was military; his deportment was always gentlemanly, and his goodness and devotion have never been questioned. In labors he was most abundant, in perils oft; in storm by night and by day. He was scrupulous in his attire, had profound reverence for authority, and always read the Morning and Evening Offices of the Church wherever he happened to be.⁴⁴

The territory into which he led his little band of three was at that time considered to be the real frontier. Bishop Perry's description of the beginnings of the work is of great interest:

41 William Stevens Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church, (Boston, James R. Osgood and Co. 1885) p. 263

42 ibid. p. 262

43 William Wilkinson, A History of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, October 1895. (Minneapolis: William Wilkinson, 1895) p. 15

44 ibid. p. 14

There had come into the new Territory of Minnesota, almost in the van of the immigration from the East, an apostolic man, who, having been the founder of Nashotah, in Wisconsin, sought in his earnest and aggressive spirit the beginning of work in a new field, and the laying of foundations on which were to be built up a church, a diocese, a system of church schools, and a mission work to the aborigines, which should for all time attest the zeal and faith and love of James Lloyd Breck. 45

The group traveled West by way of Nashotah where they were welcomed by Adams and the students and where also they united with the members of the new mission in a farewell service, the Third Sunday after Trinity, June 15, 1850.⁴⁶

As Wilkinson says of Breck in his book published in 1895:

He came west to plant the Standard of the Cross and brought with him a young man who is now the Rev. Theodore I. Holcombe, of the Church Publishing Society in New York - the only man living who knows anything by personal experience of the trials that Breck went through in these early days. 47

Stopping over night at Prairie La Crosse, because Breck would not travel on Sunday, they held a service on the Illinois side of the river and then on Monday crossed the river to hold a service of dedication on the land of the new State. In his book of personal reminiscenses of Breck, T. I. Holcombe describes the crossing and the service in some detail: the dangerous canoe ride, the crossbar on a tree making a living cross, and the stone brought from across

45 Perry, op. cit. p. 262

46 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 129

47 Wilkinson, op. cit. p. 15

the river used as an altar.⁴⁸ Bishop Perry's description of the same event is telling:

On the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1850, this little band organized as 'The Associate Mission for Minnesota,' and began their work by the celebration of the eucharistic feast. A rustic cross was raised beneath a large and spreading elm, and on an altar of stone the elements were consecrated in this solemn sacrament; and the willing sacrifice of 'body, spirit, soul,' of each of these devoted missionaries, was solemnly made. ⁴⁹

This incident, so completely in keeping with the character of James Lloyd Breck, was the preface to a comparatively brief work in the City of St. Paul. Beginning in an army tent loaned from the fort, with the three elders as professors and the one young man as student-body, the educational institution was started. At the same time a church was begun, which met in the school house until a building could be erected. The maintenance of regularity and discipline as a feature of all of the Breck enterprizes is well illustrated by the description Holcombe gives as "student-body" of the infant theological institution:

The household, except Professor Merrick, retired at ten o'clock, and all rose at 5 A.M., and answered to our names. The first roll call was made from the region of Dr. Breck's corner, and was answered readily, as we each had a cot in the same Gothic roofed chamber, and so were within easy hearing distance. The second call was at six o'clock to Morning Prayer, a full service, then breakfast. . . . The faculty met once a month, or as the exigencies of the occasion might require. As a hen scratches as diligently for one chick as for ten, so one student will sometimes try a faculty more than a full contingent. What with

48 Theodore I. Holcombe, An Apostle of the Wilderness.
(New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1903) p. 49

49 Perry, op. cit. p. 263

the washing and the running of errands, and going for the mail, and other things, such as the frequent absence of both the president and secretary on missionary duty, it was a wonder how the institution kept on its feet. . . . No man but Dr. Breck would have attempted to realize an ideal under such untoward conditions. 50

After a successful struggle of two years the Associate Mission came to a close. The Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson succeeded Dr. Breck as rector of Christ Church, St. Paul. Dr. Breck went on with the organization of his Gull Lake missions to the Indians. He left the foundation in good financial condition with very valuable property, now in the heart of St. Paul, which was bought "for a song" because of his foresight. The present value of these lands is so great as to cause one to wonder why criticism of Dr. Breck's financial management could ever have arisen. It existed however, and all of those who wrote about him with a personal bias make some effort to show how ill-founded was any such idea. As Holcombe saw it, the real reason for the end of the Minnesota Associate Mission was simple: "Bishop Kemper refused his consent to the establishment of another theological school in the sparsely populated Northwest."⁵¹ There was also the possibility inherent in the man and the situation, that the City of St. Paul was too civilized a place for him. He wanted always to be coping with the real frontier.

The description given by Wilkinson of the opening of the Indian

50 Holcombe, op. cit., p. 62

51 ibid. p. 65

Missions is interesting:

In 1852 Enmegahbowh asked Breck to go on a mission to Crow Wing and the shores of Gull Lake. Breck had been disappointed in not founding a divinity school, and was ready to undertake a new enterprise; . . .

With Holcombe, before mentioned, he set out; they walked all the way, a distance of over one hundred miles, till they arrived at Gull Lake, where a council with the chief men was held. . . . Breck proposed to establish a mission and school among them, and here the sound of the church-going bell was heard. 52*

Despite some difficulty at the beginning with an Indian Chief named "Bad Boy" the Indian Mission was successfully established. It was soon found that the real leader among the Indians was Enmegahbowh, who was for many years the most successful Indian clergyman of the whole Church.⁵³ With his untiring industry Breck built a whole new work, teaching the Indians not only in schools but by the example of a man who was never afraid of work. The United States Indian Commissioner for the district was so impressed by the value of the work that it was soon greatly aided by the government.⁵⁴

The years 1852-53 went smoothly at the Gull Lake Indian Mission, with constant and gratifying advance. For the first time in the many years of his ministry Breck found it necessary to add women to his household. Mrs. Wells came to be housekeeper as an example to the Indians. Soon there were other feminine members of the mis-

52 Wilkinson, op. cit. p. 16

53 ibid. p. 91

54 ibid. p. 92 ff.

* Appendix B

sion staff; among them Miss Mills, Miss West, Miss Frink, and Miss Allen.⁵⁵ Dr. Breck was not able to hold the System under the pressure of propinquity.⁵⁶ Marriages resulted and finally: "On the 11th of August, 1855, he committed the grand betrayal, and was married to Jane Maria Mills, . . ."⁵⁷

With the addition to the Gull Lake Mission Staff in 1855 of the Rev. Mr. Peake, the first of the Nashotah graduates to join Dr. Breck in his work, the leader was free to go on with the expansion of the mission to the Indians. By request of the Chippeways of Leach Lake, issued by their Chief, "Flat Mouth", he had made a journey of investigation during the previous winter.⁵⁸ His own description of the journey and mode of travel in a letter to Miss Edwards is indicative of the primitive nature of the country to which he moved:

There is only the Indian trail. The Lapland sleigh, . . . adapted to one person only abreast, is our sole means of locomotion by carriage west of the Mississippi. . . . It is simply half-inch boards without runners drawn upon the top of the snow. . . . Of course until accustomed to this mode of travel, we were not infrequently laid at full length upon the snow.⁵⁹

The work continued to expand; and it is evident from the biography, written by his student and companion, Holcombe, that

55 Wilkinson, op. cit. p. 16

56 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 98

57 Greenough White, A.M., B.D., An Apostle of the Western Church, (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1911) p. 172

58 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 123

59 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 240

Dr. Breck was looking at the Indian situation with a long range view which would give all of the Indian lands to the church were the plan pursued successfully.⁶⁰ Although Dr. Breck's work was brought to a close by circumstances, we owe the beginning of the great work in White Plains and the Indian Convocation of Niobrara to these beginnings. The opening of the Leach Lake Mission marked the high point in his Indian work. Soon the evil influence of unprincipled men in an open and unpoliced country began to have its effect; and although it was illegal to sell whiskey to an Indian, numerous saloons were opened effecting an almost complete demoralization of the work that had started so successfully. As Greenough White puts it:

The sale of ardent spirits to the Indians, which went on unchecked by an indifferent or feeble government, had exceedingly disheartening consequences. Under the goad of strong drink, the Indian became, for the time being, a maniac, and rushed headlong into all manner of sins and crimes, so that it seemed as if in a moment a rum-seller could level with the ground the painfully constructed fabric of years of evangelizing and civilizing work.⁶¹

Breck himself recorded the first signs of this trouble in a letter to Bishop Kemper in which he told of the necessity for punishing Chief "Bad Boy".⁶² Matters became rapidly worse until, as Holcombe tells the story, the lives of the people of the mission were so severely threatened that it was necessary to withdraw:⁶³ "On his

60 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 119

61 White, op. cit. p. 172

62 Breck, op. cit. p. 272

63 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 131 ff.

return to St. Paul, Dr. Breck at once undertook the new work at Faribault. He always found in defeat the stepping stone to a new enterprise.⁶⁴ This is the way in which Holcombe marks the transition to the last phase of the Minnesota work. The growth of the Schools in Faribault was rapid; and in them was laid the foundation of the work later fostered by Bishop Whipple, which resulted in St. Mary's School for girls, the Shattuck school for boys and the Seabury Divinity School, which is now combined with Western Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois.

There can be no question about the importance of the Minnesota work, for not only was the church brought to St. Paul, the Indian work begun and the schools at Faribault successfully established, but it led to the foundation of a strong diocese under Bishop Whipple, and his consecration at the General Convention held in Richmond in 1859.⁶⁵

64 ibid. p. 137

65 White, op. cit. p. 176

CHAPTER IV

JOURNEY TO CALIFORNIA

Several things contributed to Breck's desire to move on to the West Coast. His house burned in 1866, at which time he lost all of his goods including his library and his "barrel" of sermons. He is quoted by Holcombe as saying: "'I should think it a good time for me to emigrate to the West'".⁶⁶ A much more severe blow came in 1862 with the death of his wife, who had been of great help to him through the years of their married life. As he said in a letter to his brother Charles at that time:

And here I am alone! - never again on this side of the grave to hear her voice or behold her form. It is hard to realize, and harder to bear. Her grave is beside her Indian lambs, and now I am left with her two boys, three and a half and five and a half years of age, to mourn their irreparable loss, and mine.⁶⁷

Although he had previously asked Bishop Whipple to release him for another field, and been refused, in 1867 he made up his mind to move again. He left the schools in fine condition, taking part in the graduation of five divinity students on the Sunday before his departure for the East to make preparations for the new venture.

Charles Breck gives us an insight into the depth of faith by which his brother lived a whole life when he tells of the monetary problems involved in this preparation:

66 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 152

67 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 398

When he had reflected upon the subject of laying another foundation, and had made up his mind to go to California, he made known his intentions to many of his friends at the East. Many expressed their full approval, and encouraged him to go on: but no one sent him any money. In faith he went on making his preparation, and gathering his forces, when as yet he had not the means even to leave Faribault. No one would have observed any hesitation, any sign of drawing back. 68

People with money were never able to resist Dr. Breck's letters of appeal; and several gifts of five hundred dollars came as he had had faith that they would. After leaving Faribault he made a fairly direct trip to the East, speaking of the California Associate Mission and its needs at every opportunity; and by means of this and his constant letter-writing, raised a fund sufficient to transport the group, which he had gathered together for the venture, all the way to California and to arrive there with a balance.

The formal organization of the new Associate Mission was held at a striking public service in the Church of the Holy Communion in New York City, which had been for years one of the most friendly sources of income for the various fields in which he worked. (The Epiphany offering sent yearly to the Indian Missions is noted in his letters.)⁶⁹ At this evening service there was a large group of clergy present, a full congregation and a fine spirit. Everyone was enthusiastic over the prospect of a new work by this highly successful missionary. The event is recorded not only in the Life and

68 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 441 f.

69 C. Breck, loc. cit.

Letters, but in an article in the Spirit of Missions, which also carries the text of one of the addresses of the evening--that by Dr. Littlejohn. Others who made addresses were the Rev. Dr. Twing, the Rev. Dr. Charles Breck, Dr. Tuttle, and Dr. Haight.⁷⁰

The actual organization of the Mission was held during the service, and is recorded by the Spirit of Missions as follows:

After the offerings of the people had been made, Dr. Breck, Dr. Merrick, and the Rev. Messrs. Smith and Cowan, stood up before the Bishop, while, in the presence of the congregation, the instrument of association was read, binding them together for mutual help and support, in the great work which they were undertaking. Then they knelt, while the Bishop invoked upon each of them the blessing of God, and that help through which alone their labors could be successful. It was indeed a solemn consecration, well fitted to strengthen them for the trials which doubtless lie before them. The Bishop's charge was given, with its wise and loving counsel, and after the Blessing of Peace, we separated; ⁷¹

The following morning there was a service of Holy Communion for the Associate Mission at St. Luke's Church at which Bishop Coxe was officiant, he having come from his diocese to take this part in the organization and dedication of the mission. On October 10, 1867, the missionaries boarded the steamer Henry Chauncey to sail for Panama. The editor of the Spirit of Missions ends his article with this note:

On the day after, the Secretary and General Agent, and others 'accompanied them to the ship,' and they departed, fourteen in

⁷⁰ Editorial, "The Pacific Coast Associate Mission", The Spirit of Missions, (32:772, November 1867.)

⁷¹ The Spirit of Missions, op. cit. p. 773

number, including ladies and Divinity students, for their new and distant field, followed by the hopes and prayers of many hearts. 72

In his admirable History of the Diocese of California, D. O. Kelley lists the personnel of the mission. He was with them as a traveling companion, but not as a member of the Mission:

The party consisted of the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck, D. D., the Rev. John Austin Merrick, D. D., priests; the Rev. Enoch C. Cowan, B. D., and the Rev. James H. Smith, deacons; George Cary Lane, Wm. A. Fair, Cyrus O. Tillotson, Harry C. Eastman and Zina H. Kelley, students; Miss Susan E. Mercer, House-keeper, and Miss Eleanor V. Talmadge, teacher; and Mrs. Breck and Mrs. Merrick, wives of Dr. Breck and Dr. Merrick; also Mr. Edward B. Huntington, 'farmer'. There did not prove to be much farming to do, however. 73*

The mention by Kelley in this list of a "farmer" brings up one of the possible causes for the final disappearance of the missions and schools which were begun with the enthusiasm of the Eastern mass meetings, that is, the lack of investigation and preparation in the actual field to which the mission was to come. It would seem evident from this one fact of including a man for farming that Dr. Breck was not at all familiar with the semi-arid western slope of the continent, but was thinking in terms of the type of country in which all of his ministry had been spent, the heavily wooded, well watered wilds of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Kelley expresses this thought in a footnote to his description of the actual quarters taken

72 Spirit of Missions, op. cit. p. 773

73 Kelley, op. cit. p. 56

* Dr. Breck had been remarried in 1864 to Miss Sarah E. Styles.

up by the group on their arrival:

However it may really have been with Dr. Breck, himself, . . . it would appear from the tenor of the addresses made in the Church of the Holy Communion, N. Y., when the Associate Mission was 'organized,' and from the anticipations as expressed by the younger members of the party on the way to California, that it was expected that their work was to be begun under very different conditions than those actually found by them in California. 74

Although they were warmly welcomed on their arrival by the Bishop (which was natural when one considers the fact that here was an addition of four clergy to a list numbering only thirty-eight in such a vast region as California), Kelley suggests that the Bishop had had very little to do with their coming:

Dr. Breck's purpose even was not known, so far as can now be discovered, to the Bishop and Church in California, till within a few weeks of his arrival in San Francisco, and very little could then be done here in preparation for it. 75

The journey south on the steamboat is detailed to us in letters to Charles Breck and Miss Edwards and in the first of a series of letters to the Spirit of Missions in which Dr. Breck acknowledges the invitation of the General Secretary of the Domestic Committee that the Spirit of Missions be made the organ of communication of the Associate Mission to the Pacific Coast. 76

The unquenchable missionary zeal of Dr. Breck is well illustrated by the enthusiasm with which he relates to his brother Charles

74 Kelley, op. cit. p. 57

75 ibid. p. 59

76 James Lloyd Breck, "Letters from Dr. Breck's Mission, Number One", The Spirit of Missions, 33:14, January, 1868.

the schedule of services on board the steamer. ". . .(we are about one thousand souls on board), so that our Missionary work has begun without delay. Who can tell what twenty-one days' teaching and praying will do?"⁷⁷ Following the trend of his whole life, everything was systematized almost before the ship was out of sight of land. The steamship company had provision for services of the Episcopal Church on its ships; and Dr. Breck immediately organized them: On Sunday there was Morning Service with sermon, in the afternoon chanting and psalmody on the deck, then teaching of the children. Twice a week there was a Bible class in the evening; and in the afternoon on weekdays a singing service with exhortation for the steerage passengers was held.

Dr. Breck was evidently successful in his work with children, which may in part account for the success of his schools. Holcombe gives us an insight into the general character of the man in this reminiscence:

I think it can be said with truth that Dr. Breck was fond of children. He always enjoyed catechising them, and would have them stand in front of him in a semicircle, while he sat on the elevation of the choir steps. Where he got the idea I do not know, but generally he had a large, black bag with him, and at the end of the catechising he would thrust his hand down into its mysterious depths and bring to the surface all manner of cards and surprises, which he proceeded to distribute to the wide-eyed youngsters as rewards for regular attendance or good recitations. That bag was a mystery and hence a power. 78

77 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 446

78 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 42

In the letters he is enthusiastic about the treatment received by the Associate Mission at Panama and the opportunities for work there, especially since the Panama Railroad Company had erected a beautiful stone church in the City of Aspinwall at a cost of \$60,000 in gold, and furnished it with a clergyman. Mr. Aspinwall was a brother-in-law of Dr. Breck, who had been generous to him in his previous work and who was very helpful in this venture. Much of the special attention given to the party on the voyage undoubtedly sprang from this connection.

After a journey, uneventful though interesting, of twenty-four days the group arrived at San Francisco, where they were greeted by the Bishop and a large gathering of clergy and people. Holcombe gives a reasonable basis for this enthusiasm:

Quite naturally a rumor of the coming of this large party created very great interest among churchmen. There was a gathering of clergymen and laymen with Bishop Kip at their head to meet the strangers, and when the weather-stained voyagers once more trod the solid ground they found awaiting them a cordial welcome. 79

Kelley, who was with the party on its arrival, but not of it, says that they were met on the Sunday morning of their arrival and taken to the Cosmopolitan, one of the best hotels in the City. Dr. Breck had brought his Associate Mission to the most Western part of the continent!⁸⁰

T. I. Holcombe's estimate of Dr. Breck at this period of his

79 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 172

80 Kelley, op. cit. p. 56

long and active ministry will serve well to introduce the consideration of the actual missionary work in California:

. . . but one must not think to find in Dr. Breck a 'spent runner' at this point in his life, as California was to be his last venture, so it must be a strenuous one. Dr. Breck never set his face so like a flint as when he pulled himself together for this last venture of faith. 'His eye was not dim nor his natural force abated,' so he was and so he seemed if we may judge him by the intensity of his exertions and the splendid courage with which he entered upon the preparation for his mission to California. 81

81 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 167

CHAPTER V

CALIFORNIA

A personal welcome as well as a temporary location for the "family" of fourteen persons was provided by the Rev. E. Steele Peake, who had succeeded Dr. Breck at the Gull Lake Indian Mission. Before going with him to his parish in San Jose members of the mission were given the opportunity to preach in the San Francisco Churches and, as was the rule, to present the financial needs of the work so that interested persons could contribute. Here it was that the difference between the founding of schools and missions in undeveloped wilds and the beginning of such work in the "semi-civilized" atmosphere of California became apparent. Kelley, who saw much of this development, tells of the first location of the mission:

On the following day [Monday] they went to San Jose, where, not finding the wild forests in which to hew their way and build primitive log houses to dwell and worship in, as had to be done in Minnesota twenty or thirty years before, they had to be content to begin living the 'simple life' as best they could in that beautiful little city, housed together in a large wooden building, where the less titled members of the family, with Miss Mercer's efficient direction, turned to and did the 'house-keeping' under no few nor small disadvantages, while a spot could be sought out, and plans formed for a practicable commencement of some such work as they had come to do. 83

Dr. Breck's impressions of the State of California and of the fact that the condition of the Church was far from primitive are re-

corded in the second of the letters to the Spirit of Missions:

The Diocese of California has a strength in parochial work far greater than is generally credited abroad. How few know that there are twenty-three church buildings erected; that the two Convocations are opening up new stations in all the rural parts of the Diocese, and that California numbers at this time thirty-eight clergymen.⁸⁴

Breck credits Bishop Kip with the fine condition of the work, bemoans the fact that the Associate Missions were not started at the time of his arrival in 1853, and considers how far advanced the work of training a native ministry might have been. He did feel: ". . . that it is not too late to lay foundations for Missionary schools which shall yet rival the remarkable institutions we find here before us."⁸⁵ The institutions meant were the Roman Catholic schools which were the only means of education available to the children of the West Coast at that time. He continues: "Should we decide upon the San Jose Valley for our Mission and schools, we find alongside our own humble Missionary cabins, great buildings of size and repute, well calculated to throw us in the shade."⁸⁶ He then goes on in the article to describe Notre Dame Academy in San Jose, and Santa Clara College. The article concludes with an appeal for support for such a needed project as the schools he came to found, indicating that there were already students of both academy and divinity grades ready to enter, and that they must be housed decently, not in cabins.

84 J. L. Breck, op. cit. p. 15

85 loc. cit.

86 loc. cit.

The great adaptability of the man is shown clearly in this period of transition from a preconceived idea of the field in which he was to work to an actual view of the situation and its needs. Here was a problem different from any that had previously faced him, one which challenged another side of the energetic person Breck always was. Immediately he began to rearrange his thinking, to prepare both his own mind and the minds of the members of the mission for the new kind of situation.

Letters to Miss Edwards show how impressed he was with the difference in the climate. He tells her of the variety of fruits available "out of season"; also of the marvel of great artesian wells with a ". . . volume six inches in diameter, rushing with the swiftness of your street-hose".⁸⁷ Not waiting for a permanent location, the missionaries went ahead with their work, Dr. Breck and the three other clergy travelling to preach in all of the small communities near San Jose. It is remarkable that nothing ever daunted the man. He was always ready and willing to go into a new situation. Whatever happened to the work of the moment he seemed to have plans with which to go forward; yet in all of his moves, there does not seem to be any element of "wanderlust". He moved when a position became untenable for him, or when he felt that the foundations were sufficiently well laid for the work to continue under other leadership. He never left

87 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 454

a work without seeing that all of the existing financial obligations were cared for. On leaving Nashotah, he made a trip to the East to raise money for the outstanding obligations of the school; and after his arrival at St. Paul he sold his own last property to repay a loan from the Rev. Mr. Davis at Green Bay. Both Holcombe and Breck record this incident. In the Life and Letters it is a part of the diary of the student who went as the messenger with the money, the Rev. George P. Schetkey.⁸⁸ When Breck resigned from the schools at Faribault, he raised a fund for their continuance and welfare also.

In this connection it will be well to consider one of the attributes which made the success of his various missions possible; the ability to write interesting and vivid letters plus a punctilious regard for all correspondence. Kelley, in describing the early part of Breck's work, gives this impression:

It used to be said that a very potent reason for people's interest in Dr. Breck's work at Nashotah and Faribault lay in his prompt acknowledgment of and reply to every letter addressed to him, whether containing money or not. The story of his long journeys on foot to the scattered towns and hamlets, through forests and over the plains, regardless of the weather, and the building of little churches here and there, for whites and Indians, presented pictures of missionary heroism which further appealed to the zeal and imagination of many.⁸⁹

In this same connection Holcombe speaks several times of Dr. Breck's letter writing and of the complete faith which he had in the daily mail as a regular source of daily bread:

88 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 38

89 Kelley, op. cit. p. 55

The annual expenses of Nashotah must have been from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. The cost of the new mission at St. Paul was less, but whatever that expense was, he assumed it. I was told that the expenses of the first two years of the Indian mission were not far from thirty thousand dollars. How did he raise this money and from whence did his support come? None but those who were of his household could have imagined the extent of his correspondence. In his facile hand the power of the pen was abundantly illustrated. He wrote well and he wrote continually. He wrote letters and articles for the missions, and the object of his writing was to secure funds from churches, Sunday-schools, and individual Church people. There was something about the man and his ideas that stimulated the missionary spirit as no other man has. Every mail brought remittances. His constant prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' was daily answered. 90

Also, in connection with Breck's indefatigability, Holcombe refers to the letter writing: "He certainly possessed the very genius of industry. I never knew him to miss the smallest opportunity on stage or steamer or in hotel for writing letters and getting them off at once."⁹¹

The correspondence which has been preserved in Charles Breck's volume of Life and Letters is most interesting, particularly that which he wrote to the Church schools sending him offerings. The descriptions of the actual conditions under which he and his companions worked for the spread of the Kingdom make interesting, even thrilling missionary reading today. He was never afraid to ask for money to continue his work, for the work and the money were synonymous to him with the extension of the Kingdom, which was always foremost in his

90 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 56

91 ibid. p. 41

mind. From the letter to Charles, written while he was a student in Flushing and that other letter written at the time of his ordination to the diaconate, it can be seen that that had been his idea from the very first. Accordingly, new situations and different problems did not disturb him. He had faith that an adventure undertaken for the forward movement of the Standard of the Cross would be sustained; and he adapted his ideas to the needs of the particular field.



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CHAPTER VI

CHOICE OF LOCATION AND BEGINNING

It was a combination of this tremendous faith, and adaptability that permitted the mission to go forward to almost immediate success. It was in the spirit of triumph for the Cause of Christ that Dr. Breck said in his third News Letter to the Spirit of Missions, written in January, 1868:

It is with gratitude to Almighty God that, within two months after our arrival on these shores, we can announce to our friends the choice of location for our Mission. The achievement of so important an end, in so brief a space of time, can only be ascribed to a special Providence. Our attention had been called to several localities, beautiful and ready of access, but they were without improvement, and we could see no hope for occupying them before midsummer or autumn. Whilst dwelling upon so grave a question, the offer to sell to us an institution, already equipped with lands and buildings and furniture came to us. 92

This was the "Benicia Collegiate Institute" which was purchased for a total of \$14,000, of which eight thousand were to be paid at once and six thousand in one year. The Diocese of California generously offered to assume one half of the purchase price; Dr. Breck had converted the remainder of his "outfit money" into two thousand dollars in gold, which left two thousand to be raised by that facile pen, at once, and three thousand more in the year, in addition to the money which must come in constantly to take care of current ex-

92 J. L. Breck, The Spirit of Missions, Number Three,
op. cit. 33:346

penses. Benicia was at that time a logical place for such an enterprise. It had recently been, for a short time, the capital of the state. The rapidity of the organization of the work is clearly indicated by Kelley:

On January 20th a College and Grammar School for Boys were opened with fifteen pupils, and a Divinity School with the five students who had been brought from the East, to whom was immediately added a very promising Methodist preacher who sought the ministry of the Church - Mr. A. P. Anderson. Shortly afterwards 'The Missionary College of St. Augustine' was incorporated, to include all of the educational work of the Mission, with twelve trustees, as follows: Bishop Kip, Dr. Breck, Dr. Merrick, Rev. C. B. Wyatt, rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco, and Messrs. John Ferguson, Geo. W. Gibbs, Wm. B. Bourn and Wm. M. Green, of San Francisco; R. W. Kirkham, of Oakland, and (Col.) J. McAllister, U. S. A.; L. B. Mizner and Samuel C. Gray, of Benicia. 93

In his third letter to the Spirit of Missions Dr. Breck gives the list as ten divinity students, five of whom came from the East and five who had joined the mission in California. Among these were two Methodist clergy and one young man with a command of both Spanish and French, which he felt would be of special value in California. 94

In this article Dr. Breck acknowledges the aid of The Society for the Increase of the Ministry, which was supporting several of the students, and tells of the plan to have these students help as teachers in the grammar school to take care of part of their support. 95 He seems never to have lost the dream that the schools which he established could become self-supporting; the income from the day and

93 Kelley, op. cit. p. 57

94 J. L. Breck, The Spirit of Missions, op. cit. 33:346

95 ibid. p. 347

boarding school taking care of the divinity school, the former at the same time supplying a constant stream of candidates for the latter. Though this dream was never realized, it was not at all impossible in a day when all schools were pay institutions, and when there were so few that scholars came to them from great distances.

The buildings into which the mission moved were very adequate for the beginning of the work. Dr. Breck says:

Of the two principal buildings, the one of brick accommodates the Clergy and Divinity students, while the other is this month (January), prepared to receive Grammar-school boys as boarders and day-scholars. 96

Although the City of Benicia has since been passed by in the development of the San Francisco Bay Region, it was at that time an ideal location for the central station of the Associate Mission and its schools: It was on the direct steamer route from San Francisco to Sacramento; it was surrounded by small communities which needed the ministrations of the Church; and it had in it a rather pretentious wooden church which served as a religious center for the community.

The school property was excellent. Dr. Breck tells of the fine condition of the grounds, indicating that the thirty-five acres would be used as a subsistence farm as had been the case in Nashotah.⁹⁷

96 J. L. Breck, The Spirit of Missions, op. cit. 33:347

97 ibid. p. 346

The missionaries immediately began their work of establishing preaching stations and churches in the surrounding communities. Kelley says that there were six or eight at the beginning, most of which had already been visited by Bishop Kip or the clergy of the diocese.⁹⁸ In many of these towns they were able to establish permanent churches, and in some of them buildings were soon erected.

The new work had gained impetus in an almost unbelievable way! There is a note of subdued triumph in the letters which Dr. Breck wrote to his friends and relatives in the East at this time. Even his extraordinary faith had not envisaged such rapid success.

98 Kelley, op. cit. p. 57

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF THE MISSIONARY SCHOOLS AND WORK

For a number of years the work of the Associate Mission and the schools grew steadily, increasing in numerical strength and in sphere of influence. Dr. Breck was indefatigable, the various headings of his letters indicating the wide spread nature of the travels he made in extending the services of the church and carrying on the purpose of the Mission: Successful missionary work was conducted in the town of Martinez, and in Sonoma and Solano Counties.⁹⁹

His Eastern supporters continued to be loyal. In a letter to Miss Edwards written in April, 1868, he acknowledged a gift of five hundred dollars which he had applied to the purchase price of the property of St. Augustine's College. In the same letter he told her that he had been asked to edit the Pacific Churchman, which he did successfully, in addition to all of his other duties and responsibilities.¹⁰⁰ The success of the venture is recorded in a letter to his brother Charles, although with many other editors of church periodicals he wished for a greater subscription list. The financial success of a weekly paper in a numerically small, and rather new diocese is remarkable.¹⁰¹ Copies of this publication

99 Kelley, op. cit. p. 58

100 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 461

101 ibid., p. 462

were sent to friends of the mission in the East, serving as a constant connection with his regular sources of income. In some cases these subscriptions were complimentary, in others they were accompanied by requests for financial aid for the periodical.¹⁰²

In the late spring of that year Dr. Breck was made rector of St. Paul's Parish, Benicia, where D. O. Kelley reports that he ". . . was instrumental in abolishing pew rents and making the sittings all free".¹⁰³ This was in a period when a church which did not charge for the regular use of a sitting was exceptional. The church and church school in Benicia grew rapidly under Breck's leadership. He was able to report an almost phenomenal growth in that work, as he had been able to in the educational activity of the mission. It seemed that everything to which he put his hand flourished at the outset.

Some specific notice must be taken of the great distances traveled by the missionaries to hold services. Dr. Breck wrote: "I have traveled to reach Holdsbury over one hundred miles; . . ."¹⁰⁴ and in another letter: "I am now writing to you one hundred miles from Benicia, at Stockton, . . ."¹⁰⁵ For a short time he also took charge of Bishop Whittaker's parish at Virginia City, Nevada.¹⁰⁶

102 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 461

103 Kelley, op. cit. p. 57

104 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 461

105 ibid. p. 463

106 ibid. p. 467

The influence which went out from this center of the Church was widespread.

When St. Augustine's College opened for its fall term in August, 1869, seven months after the purchase of the property, there was a fine enrollment. Dr. Breck wrote to his brother concerning this successful opening and the burdens it imposed upon him:

... You will not blame me when I tell you of the great family which we have, numbering in all over eighty souls. These are all beneath our roof, while the two Divinity Professors and a French Teacher, with their families, reside in the village. These have been gathered from all parts, Oregon, Washington Territory, Dakota, Idaho, Nevada, and California. For all these I am held responsible, and the correspondence for them is very great. At the same time I have to teach daily; also take charge of St. Paul's Parish, Benicia, and prepare sermons and lectures. Then I do most of the editing of the Pacific Churchman. You may imagine that my hands must be full. 107

Each of the letters in this period indicates a growth in numbers attending the School, which, by the spring of 1870, had an enrollment of more than eighty boarders with seventeen day scholars bringing the total to over one hundred.¹⁰⁸

The work of the Associate Mission also bore much fruit. Several missions were permanently established, including, as Kelley says, the one in Santa Rosa. He also tells of the erection of the Church building in Martinez across the Carquinez Straits from Benicia. This work was carried on under the leadership of the Rev. E. C. Cowan,

107 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 464

108 ibid. p. 473

one of the missionaries who had come to California with Dr. Breck.¹⁰⁹

Although the references are largely incidental, the progress of the schools and the career of Dr. Breck are reflected in the pages of the Journals of the Convention of the Diocese of California. In the Journal of 1869, Bishop Kip reports that: "St. Augustine's College is proving a success."¹¹⁰ The interest in the schools was widespread during this period of rapid expansion. Many indications of this are found in incidental references: in letters to the Spirit of Missions by other California missionaries, in recorded letters to Dr. Breck about the work, and in The Pacific Churchman. One of these letters is quoted by Breck himself in a printed report on The Pacific Coast Associate Mission:

'I am rejoiced to believe and know that your labors and influence for Church education are being felt in the State. The ice is broken. The apathy is overcome and the current is beginning to move. It is slow, but real. I see it wherever I go; and in quarters where it surprises me. You have no idea what a work was to be done when you came, or you would be doubly thankful. I know it, for I have felt it in brain and bone, and had begun to fear the waters would not move in this generation.'¹¹¹

In the same report he expresses the feeling that was general throughout the Diocese concerning the Schools:

When we reached this coast, November 3d, 1867, we did not anticipate the opening of a boarding-school for boys short of two

¹⁰⁹ Kelley, op. cit. p. 57

¹¹⁰ Wm. Ingrahm Kip, "Convention Address", Journal of Convention of the Diocese of California, 1869.

¹¹¹ C. Breck, op. cit. p. 465

years, or the present time. The rapid development of the educational part of the Mission is as surprising to us as it has been gratifying to the Bishop and Laity of California.¹¹²

In the spring of 1870, at the peak of their development, St. Augustine's College was visited by "Dr. Twing and his Associates", evidently a delegation from the National Missionary headquarters of the Church.¹¹³

The Pacific Churchman has frequent references to the Schools and their welfare. In the issue of February 3rd, 1870, a correspondent of the "Standard of the Cross" writes:

We have just visited Dr. Breck's school at Benicia and I send you a short account. They have about eighty pupils in the college. The latter are mostly boys from 10 to 20 years. The discipline is military. . . . In addition to the eighty pupils who all board at the school, there are 8 or 10 day scholars. The entire capacity of the institution is taxed for accommodations. . . . Dr. Breck and his associates have been in Benicia not quite two years: but they have a success which ten (10) in the least could hardly equal.¹¹⁴

Dr. Breck's pleas for financial aid, both published and private, refer frequently to the fact that this was the only school of its kind maintained by the Episcopal Church on this coast.¹¹⁵

The continued power of Dr. Breck's pen is evidenced by the fact that these masterful articles and letters brought enough money to clear the original indebtedness on the property - \$14,000, for

¹¹² loc. cit.

¹¹³ ibid. p. 471

¹¹⁴ The Pacific Churchman, Correspondence Columns, February 3rd, 1870.

¹¹⁵ C. Breck, op. cit. p. 472

half of which he had assumed responsibility. The gradual reduction of the debt is recorded in the letters, particularly those to Miss Edwards and to his brother Charles; and the sums which he was able to raise by his constant and careful correspondence are truly remarkable. The letters and articles were masterpieces of descriptive narrative regarding his fields of work, never mere "begging letters". He wrote, as he had always done, whenever a moment was free from other duties, many of the California letters bearing excuses for the use of pencil or the shakiness of his chirography due to the motion of the "high pressure" steamers of the day.

Even in the glow of success, or perhaps due to it, Dr. Breck's active mind continually envisaged other work that needed doing. One successful enterprise was not enough for him. He looked across the Pacific Ocean to the Orient, planning that the graduates of the theological department of St. Augustine's College would be missionaries to the Far East. He considered the problem of the vast number of Chinese in California who had been brought here as laborers and who needed shepherding. He matured plans for the establishment of a school for the education of the sons of Japanese princes, and from his references to the plan and to the ground to be purchased for this use, he had evidently gone quite deeply into the matter.¹¹⁶

With his own personal funds, as he carefully pointed out to

Charles, Dr. Breck had purchased property in Benicia and built a small home so that Mrs. Breck might not have to live in the School.¹¹⁷ His two sons, Muhlenberg and Charles, remained in the school as boarders. With this house as his starting point he began to put into execution plans which had been in his mind for some time, and which he first mentioned in his letters in the Spring of 1870.¹¹⁸ These were for the establishment of a school for girls, which, with characteristic ebullience he considered the most important of all the plans he had contemplated. As usual he was looking far ahead when he wrote concerning this projected work: "And its mighty influence, through the future mothers of this land, who can compute?"¹¹⁹

This spring, when all of his work was successful, and new plans were beginning to take form, marks the high point in Dr. Breck's California Mission.

117 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 470f.

118 ibid. p. 472ff.

119 ibid. p. 474

CHAPTER VIII

HOPES AND PLANS FOR GROWTH

At this apparent peak of his success in the California experiment Breck was suddenly relieved of the active leadership of the schools. Bishop Kip made a report of this in his address to the diocesan convention:

The college of St. Augustine has been remodeled. The Divinity and Collegiate departments for the present have been suspended and the academical department alone retained. The Rev. Dr. Breck has retired from his place as Dean. 120

In his history of the diocese Kelley expands this statement to some extent:

In June, 1870, a change was made in the constitution and management of St. Augustine's College, in which Dr. Breck resigned the office of dean and was elected Vice-president of the Board of Trustees (Bishop Kip being president); the theological and college departments were suspended; the course of study in the School was remodeled, and the Rev. Wm. P. Tucker, rector of St. John's Church, Stockton, was elected rector, to have entire charge of the school. A very considerable indebtedness had 121 been incurred, and proved to be a burden on the new management.

To this slight information one of Breck's letters to Miss Edwards adds the fact that Dr. Tucker was: ". . . late of Maine, an admirable man, Churchman, and scholar. He takes the place of the Rev. Mr. Cowan, who came out with me, . . ." 122 This would indicate

120 Wm. Ingraham Kip, "Convention Address", Journal of Convention of the Diocese of California, 1871.

121 Kelley, op. cit. p. 58

122 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 472



that he had not considered himself as rector or head-master of the school, but as head of the Associate Mission, consequently responsible for all of its activities.

There is additional reference to this change in the answer to a letter from Charles which was written from San Francisco in July:

. . . I wish it was in my power to answer your several queries respecting myself and the Chinese. Indeed, if I could do this, it would be sight only, and no faith at all. As for my support, I suppose I shall be supported so long as I work for the Church. If I should lose faith in the Church as CHRIST'S true Body, and representative on earth, then I know my support would be lost along with it. I have now served CHRIST twenty-nine years in the Missionary field. You know how I came out, and how I have lived. And yet I have been provided for, and I see grand results at Nashotah and Faribault, which greatly cheer my heart. I hope to see the same here for this vast Coast. I cannot live here on my child, but will inaugurate other work, in which the Church ought to have the deepest interest, and along with that work and that interest I must be supported. 123

In the letter to Miss Edwards quoted above he reported himself as inspector of the school at the same time asking the support of the Seabury Society for the "new department", St. Mary's School for Girls.¹²⁴ In another letter to Charles, written in August, he defends his resignation and shows how busy he is without the burdens of St. Augustine's. There may be detected here a trace of nostalgia, although there is also the ever present note of Hopes and Plans:

Had I taken seven years to work up this School, then it would have been called "stability," but doing it up in three, it is

123 ibid. p. 471

124 ibid. p. 473f.

the opposite. Now do you, my dear brother, think I wish to take care of an hundred boys? Do you wish me to go right down to my grave? Well, you may be sure the discipline necessary for an hundred California boys would do it. I am (for the comfort of my friends) inspector-general of this School, looking after its interests, and reporting anything at fault to the Head-master. To-day I have attended four recitations, have visited the infirmary, attended the Chapel services, &c. To-morrow I go to the St. Mary's School, where we have forty pupils. I have service with them, and attend some recitations. 125

In a letter to Mr. Douglas he gave more or less the same information quoted from these letters but emphasised the fact that he had a definite connection with the school. 126

There seems to have been no stigma attached to the change in organization of the school. In the diocesan journal is printed the sermon which Dr. Breck preached at convention that year. 127 One of Breck's letters to Charles gives further information concerning this:

By appointment of the Bishop, I preached the Convention sermon - subject Discipline, - and, to my astonishment, it gave so great satisfaction, that the Convention unanimously voted its publication along with the Journal of the Convention. Also the Convention voted a committee of three clergymen and three laymen to consider the subject of the sermon, with a view to some incorporation of its views in the Canons of the Diocese. 128

Kelley refers to: "A very considerable indebtedness . . .", which had been incurred, and which, ". . . proved to be a burden on the new management." 129 This could not have been anything other

125 ibid. p. 474

126 ibid. p. 478

127 Journal of Convention of the Diocese of California, 1871.

128 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 481

129 Kelley, op. cit. p. 58

than the bills for current expenses, for Breck had reported to several Eastern correspondents that the original purchase price had been cleared. Contrary to the first impression of laxity with money which may be gained from cursory reading concerning the life of Breck, careful study indicates that criticism of his handling of funds grew from the business man's lack of confidence in what appeared to be recklessness, but was in reality a deep and abiding faith. There seems to be no evidence that Breck ever defaulted on any major debt incurred either in his work or in his private life until near the end of his life when the fountains of funds raised by his letters suddenly seemed to run dry. At times there was great difficulty in meeting obligations, at other times there was a grave question as to the source of money for food - but the supply of funds fostered by that ready pen never failed.

The Associate Mission, as Breck had always envisaged it, had ended. In connection with the change in management of the school, Kelley also mentions this fact:

By this time, too, the missionary feature of the institution had become extinct, and in fact the whole original personnel, save Dr. Breck, as Vice-President of the Trustees, disappeared from the records of St. Augustine's. 130

Breck had tried sincerely four times to make The System work. In each of these trials the circumstances had been such that the original Idea of a System and a Discipline had to be abandoned.

130 Kelley, op. cit. p. 58

Before leaving the work of the establishment of St. Augustine's College, it will be well to quote a sort of statistical report which Breck made in a letter to Miss Edwards for the benefit of the members of the Seabury society:

Our three years' pledge is now ended, and we are entering upon a new period of our work. . . . In the Missionary field of California, we have traveled over a district of country two hundred miles in length by fifty in breadth, occupying and ministering to seventeen Stations. Three churches have been built. In the Theological School two Deacons and two Priests (four persons) have been ordained.

The growth of the Grammar School has been very remarkable. There have been five terms of five months each. The first term had seven boarders only. The second had twenty-seven. The third thirty-five. The fourth seventy-two; and the fifth, lately closed, had eighty-five, besides seventeen day-scholars, making our number over one hundred pupils (all boys) under constant Church training. From out of these will grow the College, and this will furnish the Divinity School with students. We look to the Grammar School and College also for the well-trained laymen of this Coast. This Missionary College is under a responsible Board of Trustees, which hold a property of sixty acres, lying round about the building. The value of the land and improvements is estimated at \$40,000. 131

The letters regarding the reorganization of St. Augustine's show no bitterness, but indicate merely an increase in activity of an ever active mind. In the first letter to Charles which defended the change and answered the question regarding his report, Breck says:

The great points now to be considered are, schools for the Chinese, another for the Japanese prince's sons, whom I am asked to provide for in the way of a school, though not a charity work; and also a school for the daughters of this land. 132

131 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 473

132 ibid. p. 472

In the second defensive letter Breck refers definitely to the location of the school for the Japanese boys but these plans seem never to have been put into effect.¹³³

During the time of the re-organization of St. Augustine's and its removal from his direct jurisdiction, St. Mary's School for Girls became a reality. With that remarkable foresight which is so frequently seen in his actions, he started the school using the parsonage of St. Paul's Church as a residence and a rented building for classes. At the same time larger plans were maturing. With the permission of the Vestry of St. Paul's, of which he was rector, he projected buildings for the new school on a city block which was the property of the church occupied only by the parsonage.¹³⁴

He told of this move in letters to Charles and to Miss Edwards for the Seabury Society:

Friends have already helped me to furnish the parsonage, where the beginning is being made, and all looks neat and inviting. I need not now say that I wish you [Charles] to make this new effort a specialty with your people during the coming Winter. No Missionary work for this Coast is more demanded than such a nursery of the future mothers of the land. 135

You see I do not intend to let you and the dear Seaburys stand idle. I wish your interest in planting this School. I ask you to help me to the utmost of your power. Already I have two ladies at work. I have placed them in the Parsonage, and

133 ibid. p. 475

134 ibid. p. 476-77

135 ibid. p. 476

a hall nearby is their school-room for day-scholars. They have had thirty (including some little boys), and in a few days they expect two young lady boarders. They can accommodate but five. We must have land, and we must have buildings. We are willing to work and wait. 136

As he had done through his entire ministry, Breck worked early and late on his current project. He put a great deal of personal effort into the landscaping of the grounds, planting many fruit trees, flowering trees, pepper trees and grape vines so that when the money for the building should be available the grounds would be attractive. Referring to this at a later date Kelley says: "The grounds upon which the building stood were beautifully though inexpensively improved."¹³⁷ A satisfactory group of teachers and scholars was gathered together so that there might be a nucleus for the real opening of the school in its own building, and so that they might stand as an advertisement to the people of California who were not too willing to accept the new plan. Both of these efforts are typical of the way in which Breck's mind worked. He thought always in terms of the future, whether next year or for years to come. He wrote to Charles in December:

I am writing to all my friends asking offerings, by Christmas or Easter, for the first section of a building to cost five thousand dollars. I expect to be refused by some; but from others I hope to receive as much again, thereby making up for the loss. 138

136 ibid. p. 474

137 Kelley, op. cit. p. 58

138 op. cit. p. 477

In the letter to Mr. Douglas he outlined the whole idea, which was to have an architect make plans for a school of eight units to house two hundred girls, the first unit to be built the next spring. Breck also pointed out in this letter that the school was not to be put under a board of trustees until it was well organized.¹³⁹ He had had a recent unhappy experience with boards of trustees.

Part of the appeal which he made for the new school was based on the fact that the first unit of building was to be done in 1871, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of Nashotah. Breck was always interested in maintaining the connection between events and anniversaries.¹⁴⁰ The divinity hall of the College of St. Augustine was named Epiphany Hall because the California Associate Mission had been organized on Epiphany, and the Church of the Holy Communion had sent its annual Epiphany offering to the Indian schools in Minnesota.

For several years he had been planning to make a trip East in 1872 to visit his brother, and the scenes of his former labors, as well as to raise money for the California Schools. Since the beginning of St. Mary's, his plans had centered on financing this work. In the year 1871 the Convention of the Diocese of California elected him a delegate to the General Convention to be held in Baltimore.¹⁴¹ This change in his plans was not easy, as he wrote to Charles:

139 ibid. p. 479

140 ibid. p. 477

141 Journal of Convention of the Diocese of California, 1871.

. . . I had not intended visiting the East before 1872, the fifth year of my Missionary work on this Coast; but, against my express desire to the contrary, I have been chosen a Deputy to the General Convention, and, receiving it as the will of Providence, I intend to go to it. ¹⁴²

Later in the same letter he indicated that he saw the Providence in his appointment largely: ". . . as bearing on my Missionary work here, which will require my zealous efforts to obtain funds to meet my new ventures . . ." He continued this letter by telling Charles that he had contracted for the new building for St. Mary's School at a cost of fifty-five hundred dollars. ¹⁴³

Holcombe gives further information about this election in his chapter on Dr. Breck's influence: "He was elected chairman of the Deputies to the General Convention in Baltimore, and a second election would have been his had he not declined it."¹⁴⁴ Having decided to accept, he immediately began to arrange for the trip on the basis of visits to his other schools, and of the best sources for money. All of the letters to Charles in the succeeding months carry suggested itineraries. He was invited to preach the sermon at the opening of Nashotah for the fall term of 1871, but was unable to be there because of a serious illness which seized him while he was in Milwaukee with the Rev. Dr. Keene, who had been one of his

142 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 481

143 ibid. p. 481

144 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 178

first candidates for holy orders at Nashotah. While he was ill his brothers Charles and Samuel came to be with him.¹⁴⁵ After his recovery he went East to New York, and carried on the usual strenuous program of addresses and appeals, but without their usual fine results. He wrote to Charles from New York in December saying that he had been able to raise only fifteen hundred of the fifty-five hundred dollars he needed and that he had decided, with the approval of Mr. Aspinwall, to borrow five thousand dollars from five individuals for three years, without interest.¹⁴⁶ After an eventful trip home, due to an unusually heavy snow fall in the Rocky Mountains, he resumed his work, particularly that of making St. Mary's School a success.

145 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 487 ff.

146 ibid. p. 489

CHAPTER IX

LAST DAYS

It may be that Dr. Breck's death was hastened by the lack of success of his campaign to raise funds for his last great work. As he had told Charles, in order to meet the cost of the first unit of St. Mary's School, he had been forced to borrow money from some of the well-to-do Eastern friends who had helped before. Money to repay these loans did not flow as freely in response to his letters as it had in the past. With these extra mental burdens the strain of over thirty years of unceasing effort in the missionary field began to tell on his strength and vitality.

Through his efforts St. Mary's School became a successful enterprise scholastically, filling a definite need in the region. From its first small beginning in the parsonage and rented building, the boarding accommodations were filled to capacity almost as soon as they were available. This was remarkable in view of the fact that there were already two girls schools in Benicia.¹⁴⁷ Kelley describes the success of this phase of the missionary effort: "With Miss Hatch as Vice-Principal, and a good corps of teachers, St. Mary's soon grew into an institution of recognized character in

147 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 470

all that could be desired for the Christian education of the daughters of the Church."¹⁴⁸ Referring presumably to this same lady, Breck himself said: "Our Vice-Principal is a noble woman, and one of the finest possible educators, both of the heart and of the mind."¹⁴⁹

The steady progress and value of the two schools is reflected in the pages of The Pacific Churchman, as well as in the letters. In the news columns of the issue of May 25, 1871, there is the report of a rather elaborate excursion of the Cadets to Sacramento.¹⁵⁰ These excursions seem to have been a regular part of the School year, for Breck had previously reported another, the notice of which appeared in a San Francisco newspaper:

You have received from me a Pacific Churchman, containing the three years' work of the Associate Mission, and to show you the zeal now conducting the Grammar-school, I send you an editorial in one of our San Francisco papers, on occasion of a visit of our Cadets to the city, by invitation, for Thanksgiving day. The programme was gotten up in regular California style, and hence the theatre at its close. Every paper honored our boys with complimentary notices.¹⁵¹

In 1873 and 1874 in almost every issue of The Pacific Churchman there appeared advertisements of St. Augustine's and St. Mary's. St. Augustine's was announced as "The Diocesan School for Boys, Military. Preparing for the Sophomore Year in Universities." It

148 Kelley, op. cit. p. 58

149 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 494

150 The Pacific Churchman, "News Column", May 25, 1871.

151 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 476

also offered ". . . in the English Department, the most advanced courses required." The Rev. Wm. P. Tucker was the rector. St.
Mary's Boarding School had a generous announcement with Dr. Breck's name appended as head of the school.¹⁵²

Although the funds necessary for the repayment of the loans were not sent to him as he had hoped, the success of the school in enrollment caused Breck to go even further into debt. This was necessary for a number of reasons which he pointed out to Charles in a letter written February 9, 1872:

Our present building provides for so many things, such as school-room, dining-room, kitchen, and servants' rooms, bath-rooms, &c., that little remains for the accommodation of four [error - he means our] teachers and pupils. We have room for only seventeen boarding scholars, so that we are about full, and it will be deplorable if we cannot build the front section this Spring. If it is put up, we can accommodate fifty boarders. Now this new section will cost \$6,000, and how can I get such a sum? I intend to write fully and freely to Miss Cornelia Boardman, and through her to your Mr. William Boardman of Cleveland, to provide by gift or loan this sum, or at least \$5,000. ¹⁵³

As result of this appeal he obtained from the Boardman family the necessary six thousand dollars, two thousand of which was gifts, the remaining four thousand loans.¹⁵⁴

This addition to the building was erected in May, 1872, as he told Miss Edwards in one of his regular letters. In the same

152 The Pacific Churchman, Issues of 1873-74.

153 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 492

154 ibid. p. 495

letter he refers to an illness of Miss Hatch, apparently a nervous break-down, which must have added to his already heavy burden of care.¹⁵⁵ In another letter to Miss Edwards, November, 1872, he reported thirty boarders and thirty day scholars.¹⁵⁶ At the same time St. Augustine's was reported as having a full compliment of ninety-six boarders.¹⁵⁷

Although the building was completed with the money raised for that purpose, there was an additional three thousand dollars necessary for furnishings. In referring to this sum in a letter to Miss Edwards his tone begins to be slightly querulous; he recovers in the same letter, however, expressing thankfulness for all of the ". . . blessings which have followed me in my Missionary path of thirty-two years' travail on the border, . . ."¹⁵⁸

In one of the letters to Charles, written in April, 1874, the troubles about money are made clearer:

St. Mary's School for Girls has been an admirable success, but some of my friends have not been so true to me as I had hoped to find them; especially one gentleman who is a very wealthy man, and personally pushed the building forward. He thought he would refund himself from collections made among his business friends, and I let him go forward; but he was able to raise only five thousand dollars, and the expenses, over and above this, were four thousand more. I have allowed the

155 ibid. p. 496

156 ibid. p. 498

157 ibid. p. 499

158 ibid. p. 500

property to be held for this by an installment loan, and now, monthly, I am paying off principle and interest, and this will take sixty monthly payments to wipe all out.

But I have other obligations to meet. In August next, I have \$500 to pay to the Rev. Mr. Schroeder, of New Milford, Connecticut, who loaned me this sum for two years (without interest), and I must pay it. Other loans will become due later. The sum paid out here for St. Mary's in building, improvements and furniture, is little short of twenty-eight thousand dollars. 159

This may be the reason referred to by Kelley for the loss of confidence of the group of business men in San Francisco who had been helping him financially. ¹⁶⁰

His Eastern friends had tired of the constant calls for large sums of money. In some cases he felt that the money he had borrowed was needed and should be returned promptly, in others he asked that time be allowed after the original agreement expired so that he might make up the necessary sums. He was sure that if the building debt could be cleared, there was still the possibility of the boarding school supporting a divinity school. That was a thought which had always been a fond hope, and which he retained to the end. ¹⁶¹

Before his death in 1874, Breck's brother-in-law Wm. H. Aspinwall cancelled his debt. In 1875, evidently in response to a letter of request, William B. Douglas cancelled his. Even with

159 ibid. p. 504

160 Kelley, op. cit. p. 59

161 C. Breck, op. cit. p. 509

these two debts forgiven, there was still a large capital indebtedness. All of the letters which are preserved in Charles Breck's book from the years 1874 and 1875 carry signs of troubles about money. They indicate clearly that the school was making money on a current expenses basis, that it was even possible to carry the installment payments on the San Francisco debt from this source, but that no satisfactory solution for the handling of the capital indebtedness had been found.

In 1875 his son, Muhlenberg, graduated from St. Augustine's and entered Nashotah House as a candidate for Holy Orders. He was afterward rector of one of the Southern California Churches. The same summer his younger son, Charles, entered the Naval Training Academy at Annapolis. Breck wrote to his brother that he had given one son to the Church and the other to the Country.¹⁶²

In 1876, as a result of the request carried to General Convention in 1871 by Dr. Breck and his associate members of the Deputies from California, and repeated at the next meeting of the General Convention, California was divided into several missionary jurisdictions. Bishop Wingfield, who came to Northern California as its first bishop, was made President of St. Augustine's College and took up his residence in Benicia.¹⁶³ His leadership in the

162 ibid. p. 508

163 ibid. p. 512

college lasted for some time after Dr. Breck's death.

Even in his last recorded letter, which was written to Miss Edwards in February, 1876, he continued to tell of plans. This one was for the addition of an infirmary to St. Mary's toward which he intended to apply the latest gift of money from the Seabury Society.¹⁶⁴

Dr. Breck's death was sudden. He was stricken at a Lenten mid-week evening service on March 2nd, 1876, and died before the end of the month. His funeral was held in St. Paul's Church, Benicia, and was a tribute to a great missionary. Bishop Wingfield had charge of the service, assisted by Bishop Kip; there were six other clergy present, most of whom took some part; and the Church was so crowded that many people had to remain on the outside. The Pacific Churchman carried a full report of the service in its next issue, which was copied in the Life and Letters.¹⁶⁵ Holcombe quotes the Convention Address of the Bishop of Pittsburgh in reference to his death:

There has been the death of a Presbyter in a distant Diocese which touches our whole church - for that Presbyter was a leader such as God gives, only now and then to any part of His Church.

The Rev. Dr. J. Lloyd Breck - his prime of life not yet past - sank literally under his toils and cares for the Church and her missions, but a few weeks ago in Northern California. . . . His bold, manly, aggressive missionary life for some

164 ibid. p. 513

165 ibid. p. 519

thirty-six years has been the glory of our American Church. To many of us who have watched his course all these years it seemed as though this American Church of ours without Lloyd Breck at work in it was hard to think of. His example is one that young ministers ought to study well before they settle themselves down too easily and confidently to a ministry carefully made to cost as little as conscience will permit. ¹⁶⁶

Breck's body was originally interred beneath the chancel of his church in Benicia with the thought that it would be re-interred under the stone chapel of St. Mary's School which he had planned. That chapel was never built; and twenty years later the remains were removed to Nashotah, where a memorial cross inscribed "An Apostle of the Wilderness" marks his grave. ¹⁶⁷

166 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 182

167 ibid. Plate opposite p. 191

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The question must be faced as to what were the permanent results of the life and work of the Rev. Dr. James Lloyd Breck. Nashotah House in Wisconsin has grown and is on a secure foundation with an enrollment comparable to, or larger than, any in its history. Those who have written about this school are unanimous in attributing its successful beginning to Breck, who alone shouldered the burdens during the greater part of its first years. The church in St. Paul, Minnesota, went on from his foundation to a successful establishment with adequate grounds, due to his foresight. The successful work with the Indians in White Plains and the establishment of the Indian Missionary District of Niobrara have been attributed to the work which he began with them in Minnesota before great groups of them were moved to the West. The schools of Faribault are monuments to his devotion to the educational ideal which carried him on and on in his missionary endeavors. Although the Seabury Divinity School has now been merged with Western Theological Seminary, the work which he began still goes on; and it may be assumed that such an amalgamation is consistent with what he tried to do.

After consideration of Breck's successful work in Wisconsin

and Minnesota the tendency is to think of him as the founder of living schools. In California no vestige of his work in establishing schools remains save the vacant buildings in Benicia. To be sure, there are several small missions which began their lives under the leadership of members of the Associate Mission, but they are not remarkable either in their history or present strength. In Benicia itself, St. Paul's Church has a very small congregation and is sponsored by the Bishop of Sacramento and served by students of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific.

What are the reasons for the eclipse or disappearance of so important a venture? The first may be found in lack of preparation of the leaders of the Diocese of California for the coming of the Associate Mission plus a lack of investigation of the exact type of situation into which it was moving. It is probable that Breck did not take into account the fact that there was already established in California a fairly vigorous diocese with Bishop Kip in charge. In many respects it is easier to begin missionary work in virgin territory than to try to graft it onto an existing organism. Had the coming of the Associate Mission been prepared for over a considerable period of time with a careful consideration of all of the elements physical and psychological which entered into its organization the results might possibly have been different.

The members of the mission were not prepared for the situations

encountered and few of them had the extreme adaptability which made Breck's work successful under all conditions. Perhaps the very fact that a life of comparative comfort was substituted for the hardships they had expected, removed the urge to missionary labor from the minds of some of them.

If there is a single criticism that should be made of Breck concerning any of his work it is that he was too severe a disciplinarian. Throughout his many years of active missionary ministry he drove himself unceasingly under a very rigorous, self-imposed discipline. It is evident from the records of the previous missions that he expected his associates to accept the same kind of discipline. Although it is not explicit in available records, apparent difficulties of personality may have come from that source. Breck was not essentially a severe man with people. Any element of severity which seems to be present may be attributed to the fact that he himself set a higher standard than the average man could meet. D. O. Kelley, who travelled with the party from the East, and was a witness of the whole work of the Associate Mission, says: ". . . a large portion of the personnel of the party . . . was singularly ill adapted to the work and the conditions to be encountered here, either physically, mentally or temperamentally."¹⁶⁸

168 Kelley, op. cit. p. 59

Another factor which probably had its part in the final dissolution of the Benicia Church Schools was the increase in availability of educational institutions in the state. Breck himself sensed this before the end of his life, and wrote of it in a letter to Charles: ". . . schools have multiplied here, so that with our very distinct Church character, you readily perceive we cannot be so popular as non-sectarian schools may be, . . ." ¹⁶⁹ In a history of Solano County written under the direction of J. P. Munro Fraser, Historian for Wood Alley and Co., Publishers, five schools are listed in Benicia: A "Female Academy" founded in 1852, which survived for some years after removal to another location; a Roman Catholic school for girls; St. Augustine's College; The College of St. Mary; and another girls' school. None of these are in existence today. The town of Benicia has never had the activity or population which it had in the years just preceding Breck's arrival. ¹⁷⁰

The last physical reason for the disappearance of the work lies in the fact that there seems to have been some disinclination on the part of contributors to continue their support. The Western group became annoyed at Dr. Breck's constant "Acts of Faith", which did not appear to them to be business-like. Breck's own version of his disappointment in one of these men has already been quoted.

¹⁶⁹ C. Breck, op. cit. p. 505

¹⁷⁰ J. P. Munro Fraser, History of Solano County, (San Francisco: Wood Alley, and Co., 1879) p. 176

Probably in reference to that same matter Kelley makes the following statement: "Then for some reason a number of the leading business men and earlier supporters of the enterprise in San Francisco appeared to lose confidence in Dr. Breck's business management, and their support largely ceased."¹⁷¹ His Eastern supporters, many of whom had been backing him financially through over thirty years of missionary activity, gradually turned a deaf ear to his continual requests for new donations. Some of the wealthy people who had given him loans without security or interest resented his inability to repay them at the time agreed upon. Part of the worry which probably contributed to his sudden and premature death came from this source.

It is possible, however, that the permanent value of the Associate Mission in California is intangible and cannot be reckoned in terms of surviving institutions or apparent influence. One cannot but feel that the continued devotion and service of Dr. Breck had its lasting influence on the Dioceses of California and Sacramento. Holcombe becomes almost lyrical in his defense of this thesis:

I do not think the influence of Dr. Breck for good, upon the Diocese of California has ever been appreciated. At that time and before that there was not a Church school in the entire Diocese; there was no rallying centre of educational influence; no church institutions. . . . For the supply of ministers they depended on a source 3,000 miles distant. . . . there

171 Kelley, op. cit. p. 59

was no provision for the education of boys and girls, The parishes were like strong men with nothing to do, sunk in selfishness and sloth inconceivable.

At his clarion call they sprang to the breach. They rallied instantly to his support, their funds were pledged, their boys and girls filled his halls faster than he could erect them. Dr. Breck was more honored in California than he had ever been before. 172

There is evidence that this was the opinion of other people than Holcombe. His coming gave an impetus to the work in California.

Surely the example that he set in his indefatigable missionary journeying, his constant attention to the needs of the schools and their scholars, his abiding faith that the income of tomorrow would care for the needs of tomorrow must have had its effect on both the clergy and laity of his day, and thus, however indirectly, on the development of those institutions and organizations in the two dioceses which have survived until now.

172 Holcombe, op. cit. pp. 176-7

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APPENDIX A
OFFICE OF DEVOTION
of the
UNITED BRETHREN OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSE
ESTABLISHED AT NASHOTAH, W. T.

I The Brethren being assembled, let one of the Clergy begin the Service by saying,

Let us pray.

Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, all our doings with Thy most gracious inspirations, and further them with Thy continual help, that every prayer and work of ours may begin always from Thee, and by Thee be happily ended, and more especially the Service we are now entering upon, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

I Then the Reader shall say,

T In the name of THE FATHER, and of THE SON, and of THE HOLY GHOST. Amen.

Answer. Blessed be the HOLY and UNDIVIDED TRINITY, now and for evermore. Amen.

I Then shall be said this Confession, the Reader first saying,

Let us make with a pure heart and humble voice, our Confession to Almighty God, devoutly saying,

Most Gracious God, the Fountain of all mercy, who desirest not the death of a sinner, nor despisest the tears of the penitent, we miserable sinners humbly prostrate our souls and bodies before Thy most adorable Majesty, and with a true and hearty sorrow accuse and condemn ourselves. We confess,

O Lord God, that we have grievously sinned

(a) Here let the against Thee in thought (a), word (a), and deed Reader make a (a), through our fault, through our great fault, short pause. through our exceeding great fault. But have Thou mercy on us, O Most Merciful FATHER, for Thy SON's sake, JESUS CHRIST, our Lord and only Advocate. Amen.

I Then shall the Reader continue as followeth, all uniting in the Responses, and in the petition, " O Holy," &c.

O GOD THE FATHER, Creator of the world,
Have mercy on us.
O GOD THE SON, Redeemer of mankind.
Have mercy on us.
O GOD THE HOLY GHOST, Perfecter of the faithful,
Have mercy on us.
O HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD OF HOSTS, have mercy on us, and save us for Thy Name's sake. Amen.

I Then shall the Reader say this Prayer:

Grant to us, LORD, we beseech Thee, pardon and peace, that we may be cleansed from all our sins, and serve Thee with a quiet mind; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

I Then shall be said,

OUR FATHER, Who art in heaven, &c.

I And afterwards shall be said these Versicles and Responses:

- ¶. Our help is in the Name of the LORD;
- R. Who hath made Heaven and earth.
- ¶. Convert us, O GOD, our SAVIOUR;
- R. And turn away Thine anger from us.
- ¶. O GOD, make speed to save us;
- R. O LORD, make haste to help us.
- ¶. Glory be to THE FATHER,&c.;
- R. As it was in the beginning,&c.

I Here, all standing up, the Reader shall say this

Invitatory.

Come, let us arise and go to OUR FATHER; let us turn to the LORD our GOD, that He may turn to us, and bless us.

Response. Come, let us arise and go to OUR FATHER.

¶ Then shall be said or sung the Veni, Creator, Spiritus.

Come, HOLY GHOST, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.

Thou the anointing SPIRIT art,
Who dost Thy Sevenfold gifts impart.

Thy blessed Unction from above,
Is comfort, life, and fire of love.

Enable with perpetual light
The dulness of our blinded sight.

Anoint and cheer our soiled face,
With the abundance of Thy grace.

Keep far our foes, give peace at home;
Where Thou art guide, no ill can come.

Teach us to know the FATHER, SON,
And Thee, of Both, to be but ONE.

That, through the ages all along,
This may be our endless song;

Praise to Thy eternal merit,
FATHER, SON, and HOLY SPIRIT.

Amen.

¶ Then shall follow the Antiphon, which may be said alternately with every verse of the Psalm, or may be said only at the beginning and the end of the Psalm, in which case the Reader shall begin as followeth:

ANTIPHON.

Trust in the LORD.

PSALM.

THE LORD is nigh unto all them that call upon Him: yea, all such as call upon Him faithfully.

He will fulfil the desire of them that fear Him: He also will hear their cry, and will help them.

Them that are meek shall He guide in judgment; and such as are gentle, they shall He learn His way.

What man is he that feareth the LORD; him shall He teach in the way that He shall choose.

Put thy trust in the LORD, and be doing good; dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.

Delight thou in the LORD; and He shall give thee thy heart's desire.

Commit thy way unto the LORD: put thy trust in Him, and He will bring it to pass.

I will look up unto the LORD, I will wait for the GOD of my salvation: my GOD will hear me.

O send out Thy light and Thy truth: that they may lead me.

Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel: and after that receive me with glory.

I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.

For Thou hast said, I will inform thee, and teach thee in the way wherein thou shalt go: and I will guide thee with Mine eye.

Lead me, O LORD, in Thy righteousness, because of mine enemies: make Thy way plain before my face.

Thou shalt make room enough under me for to go: that my footsteps shall not slide.

Hold thou still in the LORD: and abide patiently upon Him.

It is good for me to hold me fast by GOD, to put my trust in the LORD GOD: and to speak of all Thy works in the gates of the daughter of Zion.

It is better to trust in the LORD: than to put any confidence in man.

It is better to trust in the LCDR: than to put any confidence in princes.

Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the Name of the LORD our GOD.

It is the LORD's doing: and it is marvellous in our eyes.

If GOD be for us; who can be against us?

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

ANTIPHON.

It is better to trust in the LORD, than to put any confidence in man.

¶ After which the Reader shall say,
Brethren, listen to the

First Instruction.

Trust in the LORD with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own understanding. In all thy ways think upon Him, and He will direct thy paths. Be not wise in thine own conceit, and depart from evil. Seek not the things that are too high for thee, nor search into those above thy strength; but the thing that GOD has commanded thee, that do thou. And in many of His ways be not thou curious; since it is not necessary for thee to see with thine eyes those things that are hidden. Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the Most High, and it shall profit thee more than gold. Give to the Highest according to what he has given thee, and with a good eye give according to the ability of thy hands: for the LORD is thy rewarder, and He will repay thee seven times as much. When a man's ways please the LORD, He maketh even His enemies to be at peace with him. The heart of man deviseth his way, but the LORD directeth his steps. He that is patient is better than he that is strong, and he that rules his own mind than he who conquereth cities. There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel, against the LORD.

¶ Here, all rising, two of the Lay Brethren (Candidates for Holy Orders, if any be present) in succession shall make the First and Second Responses, all joining in the Third.

First Response. Well may we give Thee, O LORD, some part of what we have, since we received from Thee all we have. Well may we give with gladness to Thee, since Thy bounty rewards us with so great advantage.

Second Response. O make us still mistrust ourselves, and with humble confidence rely on Thee. Without Thy blessing, our labor is vain; and against Thy decrees no policy can succeed: but if we humbly submit to Thee, Thou wilt direct us; if we keep Thy commandments Thou wilt defend us.

Third Response. O make us still mistrust ourselves, and with humble confidence rely on Thee.

¶ Then shall the Reader say,

Brethren, listen to the

Second Instruction.

When thou comest to serve the LORD prepare thy soul for temptation. Cleave unto Him, and depart not away, that thou mayest be increased at thy last end. Whatever is brought upon thee take cheerfully, and be patient when thou art brought to a low estate; for gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity. Believe in GOD, and He will help thee; order thy way aright, and trust in Him. Woe to the fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways. Woe to them that are faint-hearted, who believe not GOD, and therefore shall not be defended.

First Response. Teach us, O Gracious LORD, to begin our works with fear, and to go on with obedience, and to finish them with love; and after all, to sit humbly down in hope, and with a cheerful countenance look up to Thee;

Second Response. Whose promises are faithful, and Whose rewards infinite. All this we may do for men, and yet they fail us; we may serve, and they forget our service; we may love, and they neglect our affections: only Thou, Whom we no way can benefit, dost every way oblige us, O LORD our GOD;

Third Response. Whose promises are faithful, and Whose rewards infinite.

¶ Then shall the Reader say,

Listen, Brethren, to the Lesson selected from the tenth chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew.

These twelve JESUS sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat. Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call

them of his household? Fear not them which shall kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my FATHER which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my FATHER which is in heaven. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall fine it.

First Response. Blessed, O our GOD, be Thy goodness for ever, which so plentifully furnishes us with rules of conduct, and so safely guides all who choose to be led by Thee.

Second Response. As Thou wilt show us the way, so, O LORD, give us strength to walk in it; and grant to us, O LORD, grant to us in the end eternal rest. Thou art our example, Who wast faithful to Him Who appointed Thee, as Moses also was faithful; and therefore,

Third Response. Show us the way, O LORD, and give us strength to walk in it.

A. Glory be to the FATHER, &c.;
B. As it was in the beginning, &c. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Reader begin the following

LITANY.

Let us pray.

LORD, have mercy upon us.

CHRIST, have mercy upon us.

LORD, have mercy upon us.

O GOD, Who hast prepared a glorious inheritance for those who love Thee and keep Thy commandments, Who art Thyself that glorious Inheritance, and the End and Expectation of all our labors,

Have mercy upon us.

O GOD, the only rest of wearied souls, the only joy of time and of eternity, Who art all that we can desire,

Have mercy upon us.

From all manner of evil, but especially from sin, and from the particular temptations to which by time, place, or temper, we are most exposed,

Deliver us, O LORD.

In all our doubts, in all our necessities, throughout our lives, and at the hour of our death,

Deliver us, O LORD.

We sinners do beseech Thee to hear us, O LORD GOD; and that it may please Thee, in all our dangers, trials, and temptations, to strengthen and relieve us;

We beseech Thee to hear us, good LORD.

That, seeing our daily imperfections, we may quicken our diligence, humble our thoughts, and learn to depend wholly on Thee;

We beseech Thee to hear us, good LCRD.

That, believing Thou governest the world by Thy Providence, we may humbly and thankfully accept of any condition of life Thou assignest us therein, and not murmur at the part Thou givest us to act, but strive to act it well;

We beseech Thee to hear us, good LORD

That we may religiously observe the rules and duties of our several places, and contentedly submit to the meanest works of our condition;

We beseech Thee to hear us, good LCRD.

That we may live in peace and charity with all the world; and especially, since it hath pleased Thee to unite us in one family, that we may patiently forbear, freely forgive, and readily assist, one another;

We beseech Thee to hear us, good LORD.

SON OF GOD, we beseech Thee to hear us.

SON OF GOD, we beseech Thee to hear us.

O LAMB OF GOD, who takest away the sins of the world;

Grant us Thy peace.

O LAMB OF GOD, who takest away the sins of the world;

Have mercy upon us.

Let us pray GOD, who grants the prayers of His servants one for another, to remember for good all those whom we should remember in our prayers; those who have ministered to us of their labor, their wealth, their good countenance, their prayers, whether young or old, male or female, clergy or laity; whether known to us, or unknown; all who have a claim on us from benefits conferred in aiding us to establish this House to the glory of GOD's great NAME. O Merciful LORD, make them a plentiful recompense for the good they have conveyed to us. Pour out, upon all, Thy rich pity, --to all, performing their requests for salvation. And since we cannot make mention of each of them, through ignorance, forgetfulness, or number of names, remember Thou them, O GOD, who knowest the stature and appellation of each, and every degree of their several necessity. Continue to us their goodwill; and, in the multitude of Thy pity, remember them and us; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Furthermore, we commend to Thy favor, O GOD, the endeavor here made by thy unworthy servants to extend the Kingdom of Thy dear SON upon earth. Confirm and promote its usefulness. Replenish with the truth of Thy doctrine the clergy here collected, and endue them with innocency of life. Visit with Thy love and favor all the members of this Household, increasing in them true religion, and nourishing them will all goodness. Enlighten the minds of the people more and more with the light of the everlasting Gospel.

And, according to Thine infinite wisdom, O LORD, prepare occasions of doing good, and give us grace to make use of them. Enlarge, in Thine own time and way, Thy manifold gifts to us, both temporal and spiritual. Send forth laborers into this Thy harvest; and who-ever plants, who-ever waters, strengthen their faith in Thee, who alone canst give the increase, O Gracious LORD of the Harvest, our SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST. Amen.

- ¶. Bless, O LORD, Thy Spouse, the Holy Catholic Church.
- R. And evermore mightily defend her.
- ¶. Deliver her from strange doctrines, heresies, and schisms.
- R. And bless her with truth, unity, and concord.
- ¶. Deliver her when she is in danger.
- R. And restore her where she is laid waste.
- ¶. Bring back those that have wandered from her Fold.
- R. And may all the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our LORD and His CHRIST.

Let us pray.

O eternal GOD, who hast vouchsafed to receive us into the Ark of CHRIST's Church, we render Thee most humble thanks for Thy great goodness, whereby alone we enjoy the comfort of a firm and settled belief, free from the inconstancy of those who, having no support but their own fancies, float up and down awhile, and sink at last into the gulf of infidelity. Make us duly sensible of this Thy mercy; that, as we know Thee by a sure faith, we may love Thee with a perfect charity, and, fixing our hopes on heaven and heavenly things, may patiently suffer what Thou permittest here, and still press on to what Thou promisest hereafter; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Almighty and most merciful FATHER, give us, we beseech Thee, grace that we may duly examine the inmost of our hearts and our most secret thoughts, how we stand before Thee, that we may persevere in all good purposes, and in Thy holy service, unto our lives' end. LORD, Thou knowest what is best for us to do, according to Thy will. Give us, we beseech Thee, what Thou wilt, as much as Thou wilt, and when Thou wilt. Lo, we are Thy servants, ready to do all things that Thou commandest us, for we desire not to live unto ourselves, but unto Thee; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

- V. O LORD, hear our prayer.
 R. And let our cry come unto Thee.
 V. Do good, in Thy good pleasure, unto Zion.
 R. And build Thou the walls of Jerusalem.
 V. Give to all Thy Faithful eternal rest.
 R. And enlighten them when they sit in darkness.

Let us pray.

O almighty GOD, who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical Body of Thy SON, CHRIST our LORD; grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys, which Thou hast prepared for those who unfeignedly love Thee; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

- V. Bless we our LORD.
 R. Thanks be to GOD.
 V. Praised be the LORD, who hath helped us.
 R. The GOD who hath poured out His benefits upon us.
 V. He hath brought us to great honor.
 R. And comforted us on every side.
 V. LORD, Thou hast made us glad through Thy works.
 R. And we will rejoice in giving praise for the operations of Thy hands.
 V. May the Divine assistance remain with us forever.
 R. Amen.

¶ Then shall follow the Blessing, to be given by the Priest alone. In case no Priest is present, the Service shall conclude with the previous Versicle and Response, and the Silent Prayer.

Priest. The Blessing of GOD ALMIGHTY, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, descend upon us, and remain in our hearts forever. Amen.

¶ Then let the Office conclude with a short Prayer, said silently.

APPENDIX B

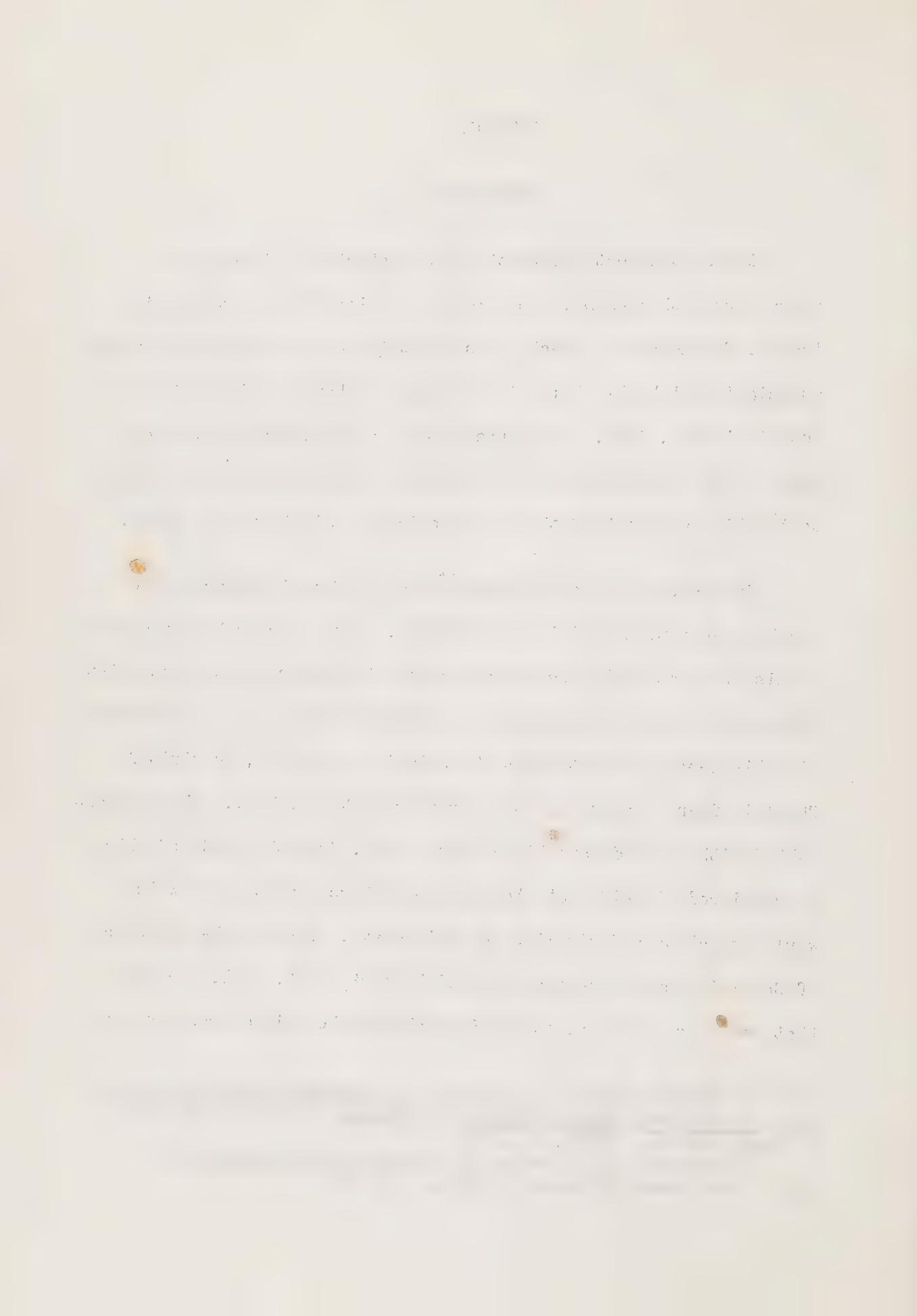
ENMEGAHBOWH

One of the most interesting and historically important characters with whom Dr. Breck worked in Minnesota was the Indian leader, Enmegahbowh. Breck tells something of his long and valuable association with the Church in a letter to Charles written from¹ Benicia in May, 1871. Holcombe devotes a whole chapter to the work of this remarkable man.² There are many additional references to the life and work of this pioneer Indian priest in both books.

Enmegahbowh was a Chippeway Indian of Canadian descent who had been sent to school in this country, then had come to the members of his tribe at Gull Lake and acted as interpreter for the Methodist Missionary there. Not finding the Methodist discipline as effective with his people as he thought Christianity should be, he visited Chaplain Gear at about the time Breck came to St. Paul. The chaplain talked with him and gave him a Prayer Book, from the study of which he convinced himself that the Episcopal Church was the one which would appeal to and civilize the Chippeways. Through the influence of Chaplain Gear he corresponded with Breck at St. Paul; and when that work was given up, it was Enmegahbowh who guided Breck to the

¹ Charles Breck, The Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck, D.D. Chiefly from Letters Written by Himself. (New York: E. and J. B. Young and Co., 1883), p. 482ff.

² Theodore I. Holcombe, An Apostle of the Wilderness, (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1903), p. 91 ff.



Meeting with the assembly of Indian Chiefs which resulted in the foundation of the Gull Lake Indian Mission. Breck went on this long journey specifically to meet Chief Hole-in-the-day, who was evidently toying with the idea of Christianity at this time.

Although Dr. Breck thought that Hole-in-the-day was to be the man who would lead the Indians of the tribe to the Church, it was actually Enmegahbowh ^{wl c} made the success of the Indian work possible. He acted as Breck's interpreter in all of the services and sermons at the mission, until, as Breck himself said in a letter:

He became the other self of the Missionary, owing to the fact that all the religious instructions given to the Indian had to pass through him. Thereby, in the course of five years, he knew all the Theology necessary for Salvation, and could readily impart it to the Indian.³

After the long preparation mentioned above, during which time he was doing regular theological reading and reciting to Breck, he was ordained. Holcombe tells the story clearly:

In 1859, Sunday, July 3d, at Faribault, Minn., after five years of preparation and in the thirty-sixth year of his life, Enmegahbowh was ordained, . . . to the diaconate by Bishop Kemper. This was the first ordination, and this was also the first Indian deacon of our Church, so far as I am informed at the present writing, and it is certainly true of all the tribes west of the great river.⁴

After some years of service as a deacon, Enmegahbowh was priested by
 5
 Bishop Whipple.

3 Breck, op. cit. p. 483

4 Holcombe, op. cit. p. 95

5 Breck, op. cit. p. 484

His civilizing influence was great, since among other things, he was one of the first Indians to build a log house at Gull Lake. Through the difficult period in the Indian Missions, when the bad influence of liquor forced Breck to move, he literally held the work together by his own courage and faith. After the removal of Breck, Enmegahbowh and the Rev. E. Steele Peake had charge of the two missions. After Peake's removal Enmegahbowh was left alone in the field.

In 1862 he averted an Indian massacre planned by Hole-in-the-day. His wisdom and courage in preventing its beginning undoubtedly saved the lives of many people, both Indian and white in the territory. Because Enmegahbowh had thwarted the massacre, his life was threatened by Hole-in-the-day, but the courageous action of his wife prevented the plan from being put into effect. She was always a very real helper to him, having learned to read and write so that she might be more useful in his work.

Enmegahbowh died at the age of ninety-three while still ministering to his own people. His life marked one of the important steps of the work of the Church with the Indian race.

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